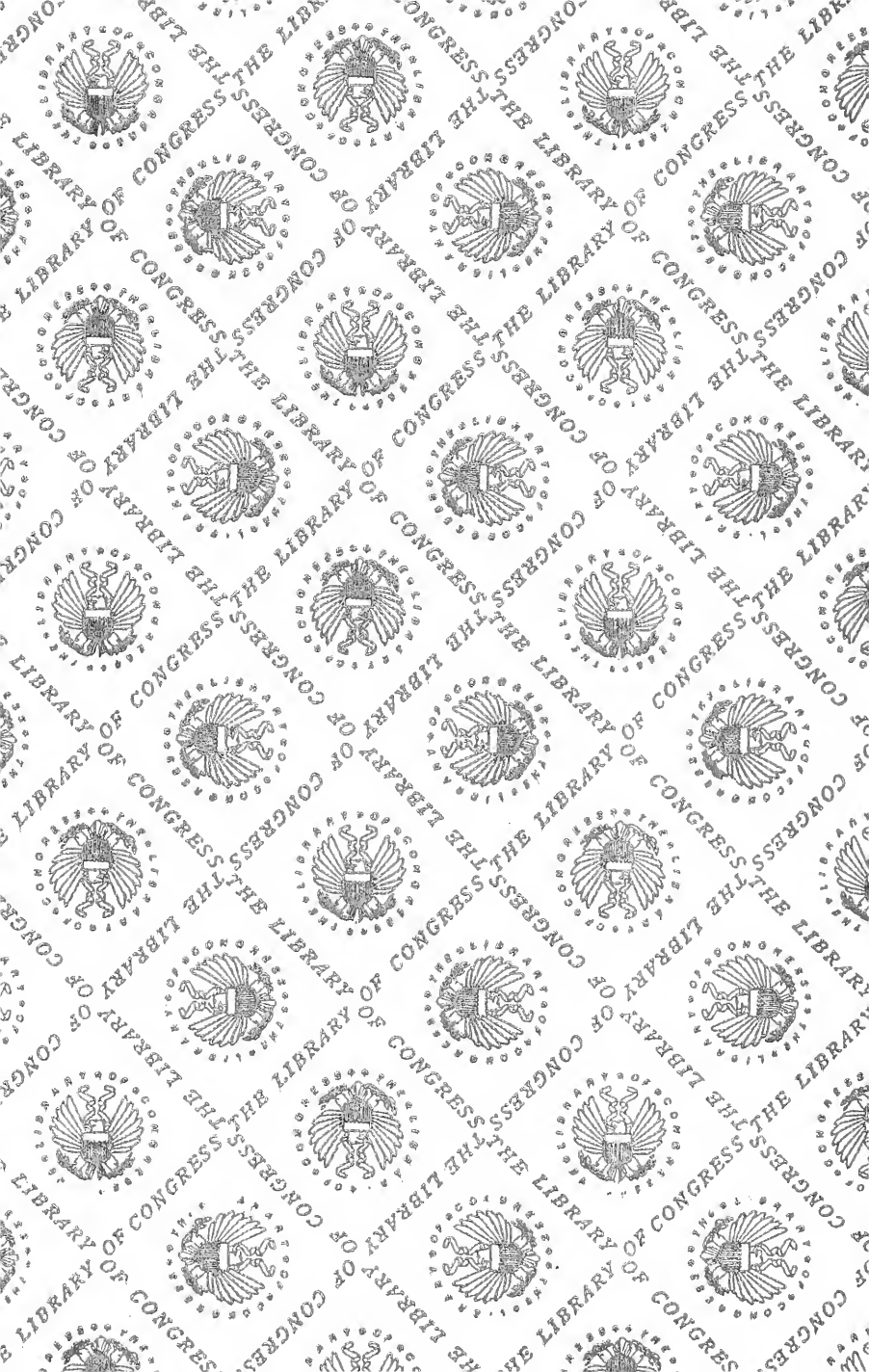
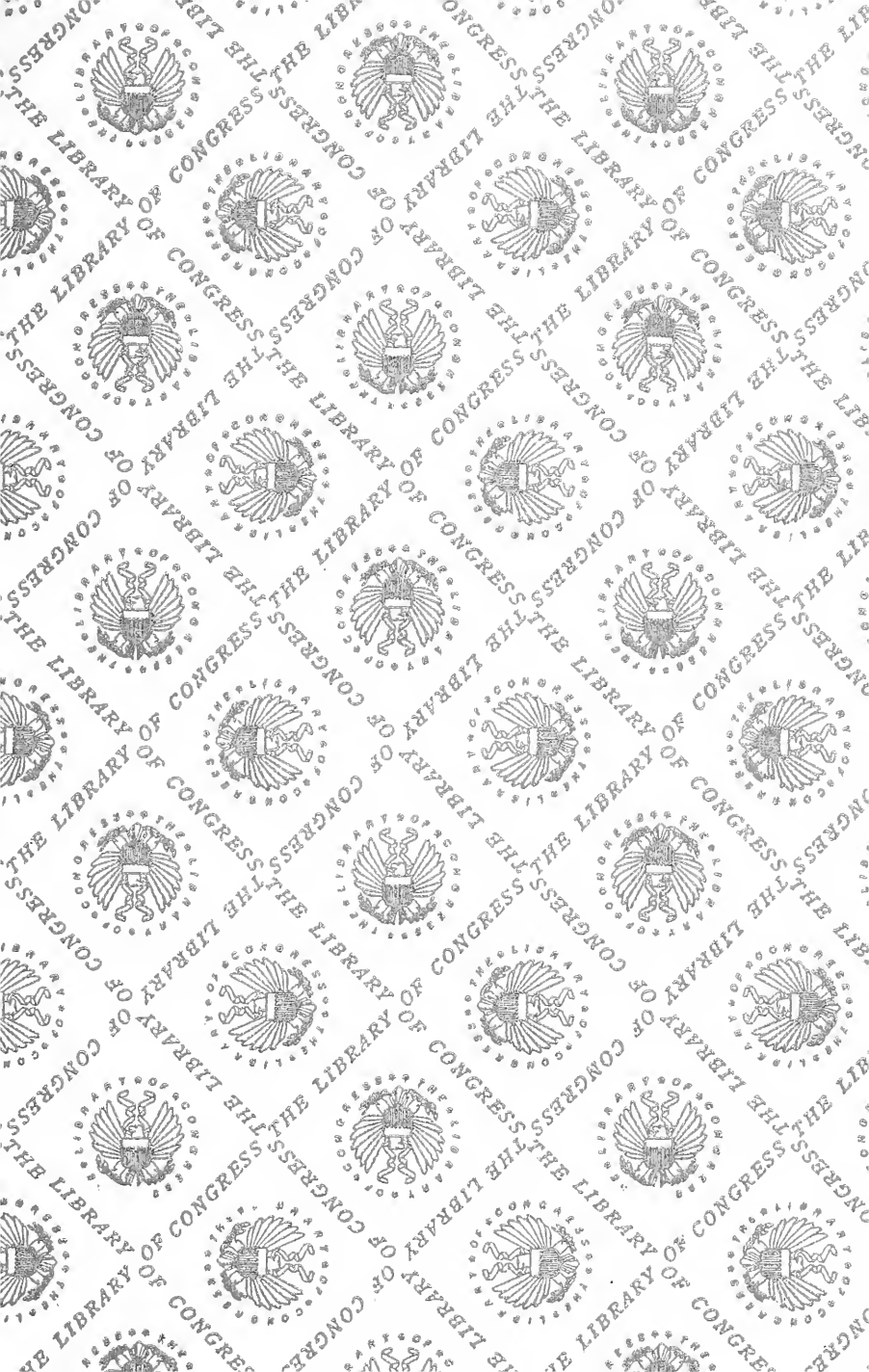


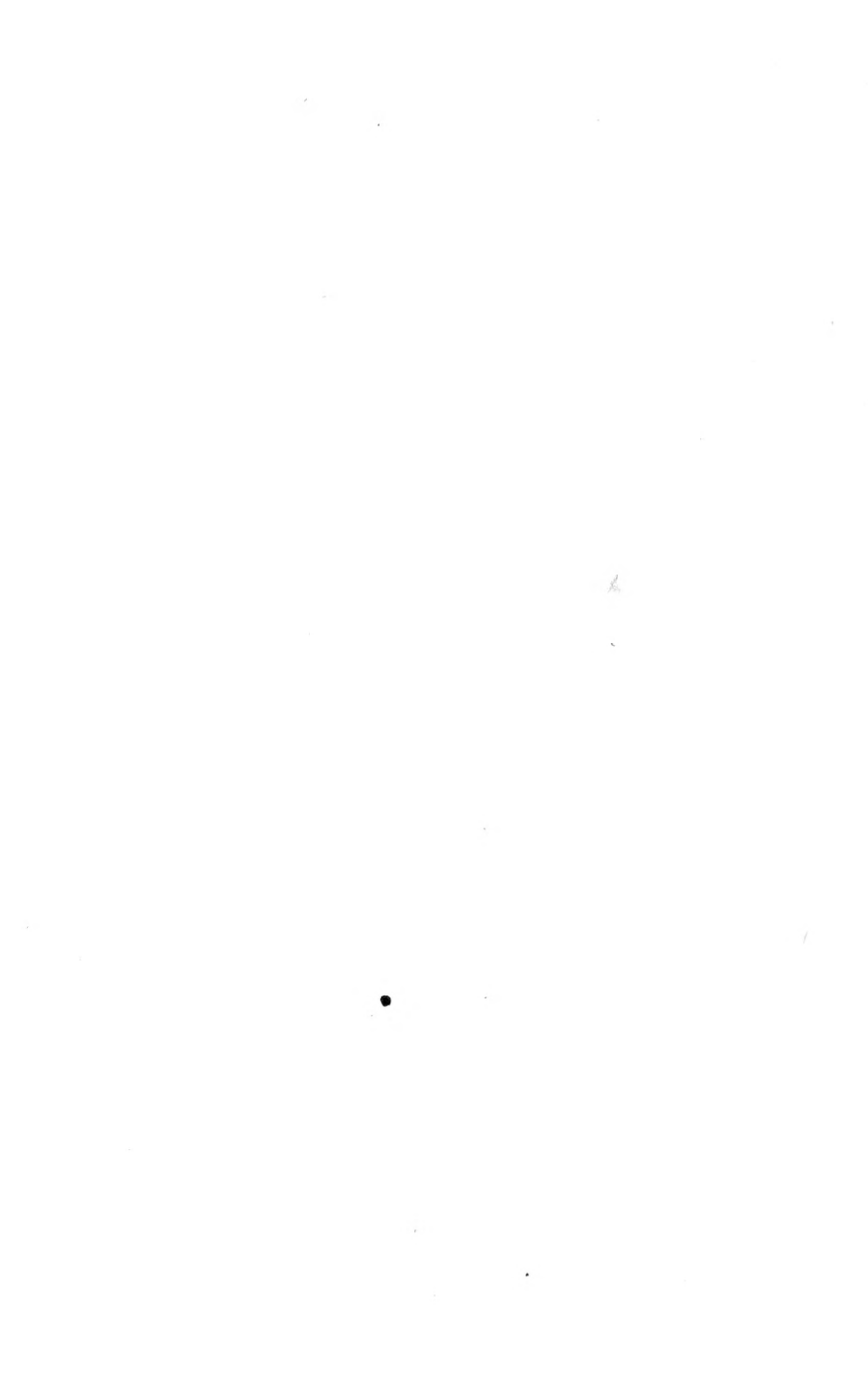
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# **FRONTIERS OF FREEDOM**

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**NEWTON D. BAKER**



# FRONTIERS *of* FREEDOM

BY

NEWTON D. BAKER

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## PREFACE

As Mr. Dooley somewhere remarks, there is a great difference between a "Secretary of War" and a "Secretary of *A* War."

The first, to be sure, is in days of peace, the Superintendent of Public Buildings and Grounds in the District of Columbia and the President of the Panama Railroad Company; he is Chairman of the National Forest Reservation Commission and Superintendent of Cleaning and Repairing the Statue of Liberty; he is administrator of laws relating to National Cemeteries and overseer of bridge construction on navigable streams; he has a multitude of other pastoral functions that have not the slightest relationship to the great god Mars.

But the second—the war-time Secretary—fights a Nation's battles; he hears its censure and sometimes its praise; he is the subject of smoking-car debate and Congressional inquiry. Within the bounds of No Man's Land, a people to-day shut off from civilization by the ingrained iniquity of its rulers, seeks to fathom his plans and measure his potentialities. In Everyman's

## PREFACE

Land he reaches into myriad homes; and even as she wipes away her farewell tear each sweetheart and mother and wife wonders how he will care for her boy.

What, then, does he say and think while the world is being made over? What are the war-time utterances of our Secretary of War? The record has been meager. Secretary Baker speaks always extemporaneously; there is neither manuscript nor notes. The comments here brought together had to be gathered from more or less fragmentary reports recorded, in most instances, without his knowledge. Indeed, they were seen by him first when these pages were "galleys."

For those who have known him and, knowing him, have loved him with a great love; for those who have seen him put the fine impress of his soul into a Nation's armies; for those who have watched him, with the Commander-in-Chief, make this war not the military venture of a class, but the crusade of a people; for those, however humble, who have been privileged to work with him, who have seen him shun the market places, and, in the silent watches, who have learned from his consecration the greatness of the Cause—for those, these chapters need no apology. For the others, these remarks are put into this more permanent form not alone because they are the

## PREFACE

expressions—albeit impromptu—of the head of the military establishment of a great Republic, but because they seem to speak spontaneously the language of a liberalism that even now is coming into its own.

RALPH A. HAYES





## INTRODUCTION

The addresses herein printed were delivered extemporaneously and without any other preparation than constant occupation upon the subjects with which they deal. Because they are the spontaneous reflections of the Secretary of War upon the social, economic and personal aspect of war waged by democracy and waged for very great issues of right, my friend and Secretary, Mr. Ralph A. Hayes, deemed me worthy of so much preservation as nowadays falls to one book more upon the groaning and bulging shelves of libraries. Just how he managed to recover as much as he has I don't know, though the energetic gentlemen who write for the daily press have doubtless been his chief source of supply; so if I should be grateful for being preserved, it must be to him and to them. If any of these addresses appear to have the merit of well-chosen words, I must modestly, but frankly, give the credit again to Mr. Hayes and to Dr. F. P. Keppel, who divides everybody's labors in the War Department and still finds time to read the copies of proofs, which, as I wrote this, I myself have not yet been permitted to see. But I hope these preservers have found in their

## INTRODUCTION

search the sentences I have sought to form expressive of the meaning of the sacrifice which the world is now making, and therefore the essential glory of it all.

It would be an unbearable thing if this great fire were found to have no purifying quality. I am well aware that the theory of compensation can be pressed too far and that one has to take a long look into a very uncertain and undetermined future even to imagine a world reconstituted upon sufficiently just and beautiful lines to compensate for the agony of this trial to the human race. And yet there are evidences of reassurance on many hands. Our country has responded to this call without passion or evil sentiment, but with its head high and its purposes written on its heart, as they have been wonderfully formulated into words by the President. It is not without significance that, although we have been in this war ten months, there has not yet appeared in any newspaper or magazine, nor has any public speaker ever suggested that we should look for advantage or seek to balance our loss account by the attainment of any selfish purpose.

Meantime the people of our country have lost some sense of distinction which was growing up among us. The democracy of the new military army and of the new industrial army is too large to be obscured, and accepting democracy as "a rule of action rather than social

## INTRODUCTION

philosophy," our common effort in this great undertaking seems to promise future common efforts for purposes just as high in the reconstruction of our social and economic organization.

Some one has said that America will come out of this war more a nation than she has ever been. That is true; no more an old-fashioned nation with nationalistic objects and dynastic ambition, but a new-fashioned nation, with sounder attitude toward itself. This new nation will have learned to view in better proportion the importance of sound daily living and of community effort, and perhaps it is not too much to hope that the people of America, in common with the people of the other belligerent countries, will have a firm and fruitful conviction, when the war is over, that the glory of nations does not lie in material things at all, except as they are necessary to condition the development of the finest freedom and the best opportunities for spiritual growth among their people.

NEWTON D. BAKER

WASHINGTON,

FEBRUARY, 26, 1918.



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# **FRONTIERS OF FREEDOM**



# FRONTIERS OF FREEDOM

## THE SINGERS OF SONGS

*Our adversary began a war upon mankind with a song of hate. It came like a childish, impotent expression of feeble purpose, but it blistered the souls of people who sang it. We made another choice. We sing no songs of conquest; we sing the songs that express our love of country, that daily lead us to justice; we sing the songs of charity and helpfulness.*

*When this war is over I can imagine that upon many a hillside in France, in Italy, in Great Britain, upon a summer's evening, there will be heard full-throated from the hearts of the people of those countries, America's patriotic songs being sung in memory of these days of glorious coöperation.*

FIRST NATIONAL COMMUNITY SONG DAY,  
WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 9, 1917.

ANDREW FLETCHER, I think it was, wrote that he once knew a very wise man who said that if he might write the ballads of his people he cared not who wrote their laws. And if we examine the history of people we find their most impressive moods as well as their heroic deeds preserved to national memory by having been recorded in song. I need perhaps to refer

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to but one as an illustration. I do not know whether history records it but I imagine that the song of Deborah was sung by the people of Israel until the days of the Maccabees, for it embodied the highest inspiration, not only of the military and moral ideals of a great people; it was the top pitch of their national enthusiasm.

In our ordinary daily life the spur of competition is enough to stir individuals to effort and the best that each individual can bring forth under the influence of that spirit seems to have been productive of the highest development of our civilization. But sometimes we come to a place where everybody must sink his own personality, must stop competitive strife, and must subordinate the personal purpose to the common purpose, where the individual success of any one must be forgotten in the common good of all, and then we have what in music is called the chorus. It is only when each singer in the chorus sings his or her part in due subordination to the artistic whole, it is only when we have perfect coöperation and perfect self-forgetfulness on the part of the singer, that we have complete harmony. So it is in national effort of this kind. We are no longer at the place where we are free to pursue our little personal and selfish aims. There may be some of us who are not making direct personal contribution of sons, husbands, brothers, in the armed forces of the Nation, but there are none of us who are not having our

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hearts subjected to the same draught as our neighbors' hearts, and when a soldier goes to the front, whether he is my brother or son or not, my heart goes out with him. Men we never heard of, men whose families we have never known, may become in these moments of consecrated self-sacrifice our heroes.

There is a process of affectionate adoption going on throughout the whole body of the people; there is a call upon us; we are rendered incapable of little and petty and selfish and separate influences and interests; and all that constituted the support of our daily life is submerged now under the spur of a national purpose inspired by a national idea. One of the great goods of war perhaps is that it enables people to discover in themselves unsuspected capacities; it enables us to bring to the surface latent superiorities of which we had no previous knowledge. Somehow or another, in the fiery trial of war, one who was not regarded as promising develops into a great, self-sacrificing, real representative of the heart and soul of the Nation. And nations are like people. We toddle along in our infancy as a nation and cultivate grain in order to live; and after a while we begin to lay down our law; and then awakening to the full strength of our capacity, we apply steam and electricity to mechanical arts. Then war comes—great war against a great adversary; and when ships begin to leave for France and carry that new Army of

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ours, it is only then that we see, as it were, rising out of the sea, the very soul of the nation itself.

Songs are used for different things. Our adversary began a war upon mankind with a song of hate. It came like a childish, impotent expression of feeble purpose, but it blistered the souls of people who sang it. We have chosen otherwise. We are singing no song of conquest, we are singing the songs that express our love of our own country, we are singing the hymns that daily lead us to justice, we are singing the songs of charity and helpfulness. We have done what we have with a proper and helpful development of those powers which the Almighty has granted us.

I remember that I once heard (these things come back like pages from a scrap-book) how some ancient king planned to send his army against an adversary, and in advance he sent an ambassador or messenger; and the ambassador came back and said:—"Your majesty, those people cannot be overcome! They sing as they fight." Our Army in France will sing because of the helpfulness of song. There are emotions which find no other mode of expression. They will sing because their cause is just and they know it. They will sing because they are sons of a free people; they will sing because in their own land doctrines devised long ago have proved so fruitful and fructifying that they have spread a benign in-

## THE SINGERS OF SONGS

fluence over the whole world and are an enlightenment to people everywhere. They will sing because victory must come to men who represent such a cause, and we at home will sing meantime with all the confidence and pride that people can have in our Army. We know that whatever the struggle and whatever the cost, they will come back to us with the fruits of victory and that when we reach out and pick those fruits, they will not wither in our hands as things we ought not to have, but they will be for a higher life and better uses for the sons and daughters of men everywhere.

Every now and then in the great movements of the world's affairs, we discover evidences of design and plan almost like the last act of a tangled and intricate play. Sometimes in a novel, in the first chapter, a mysterious figure seems to be present and when the final evolution of the thing comes about and all of the complications are to be swept away, this mysterious character appears in the center of the stage, and we see the hero. In 1776 a Republic was established over here. There never had been such a one before,—it was like the mysterious character in the story,—separated by miles of ocean from the civilized portion of the world; and after a while things came to be invented, newspapers, cables and wireless, which served to make closer ties between the old and new worlds, and still there seemed to be no explanation for this first charac-

## FRONTIERS OF FREEDOM

ter that appeared. Now we are at the end of the book, and the explanation is manifest,—the peoples of Europe who have a situation which is truly admirable, which is built upon justice, upon respect for traditions, upon considerations of respect for humanity, those peoples have been at death grips with the adversary, the enemy of all that is just and humane. And now comes the character from the first chapter of the book, the Republic established in 1776, to join the strength of this young giant with the vigor of a splendid spirit, to bring the inexhaustible materials of our great continent, to bring the splendid spiritual love of liberty, in order that this volume of the book of the world will close with the mystery explained, the trouble settled, the problem solved, and a reign of justice inaugurated.

We sing songs in many languages, but all of them on the same theme. When this war is over, I can imagine that upon many a hillside in France, in Italy, in Great Britain, upon a summer's evening, there will be heard full-throated from the hearts of the people of those countries America's patriotic songs sung in memory of these days of glorious coöperation. When our boys come back from France and have accomplished the mission which they are to accomplish there, our schools, our choral societies, will sing, not as an exhibition of a type of music, but as expressive of a great experience, patriotic



## THE SINGERS OF SONGS

songs of these countries with which we are now allied.

I trust that this movement for a widespread growth of the spirit of song will meet with increasing success and that the songs sung will be worthy of this people who in their hours of preparation are already so splendid and in their coöperation abroad will furnish an incomparable demonstration of the truth of that maxim that in war morale is to force as three to one.

## THE TASK OF THE COLLEGES

*We are in a great enterprise. The world must have peace. We have discovered, at the end of a long and patient experience, that the world can not be rescued from destruction and slaughter except by the major exercise of the martial forces of this Republic.*

GATHERING OF COLLEGE PRESIDENTS, CONTINENTAL HALL, WASHINGTON, MAY 5, 1917.

THE War Department is especially anxious not to disturb unduly the educational systems of the country. I have had within the last two or three weeks a very large number of more or less intricate and difficult questions arising in the colleges, and no doubt each of you has had to face those questions probably in more acute form than I. When the call to national service arose, spirited young men everywhere of course wanted to be employed in a patriotic way, and I suppose there is scarcely a boy in any college in the country who has not very anxiously addressed to himself the question: "What can I do?" A number of college presidents have done me the honor of asking me the answer to that question, and I have had to confess each time that I thought there was no general answer; that

## THE TASK OF THE COLLEGES

even in those cases where it would be obviously better for a boy to stay at college and prepare for later and fuller usefulness, if the boy in so doing acquired a low view of his own courage and felt that he was electing the less worthy course, the effect on the boy himself of that state of mind probably was so prejudicial that it ought not to be encouraged.

I think this, though, is more or less clear to those of us who look at it from the outside: First, that the country needs officers. There is no preference of college men for officers, but because a man has had academic opportunities he has to start with, presumptively at least, a better foundation upon which to build the learning which an officer must have; and therefore to a very substantial extent the country desires its college graduates and its college-bred men of suitable age in the training camps in order that they may be rapidly matured into officers and used in the training of the new forces.

To the extent that the men in college are physically disqualified, or to the extent that they are too young to meet the requirements of the Department, it seems quite clear that in the present state of the emergency their major usefulness lies in remaining in the college, going forward with their academic work; and the colleges can, I think, lend some color of patriotic endeavor to their so doing by such simple modifications of their courses and curricula as will show the boys

## FRONTIERS OF FREEDOM

who stay that they are being directly equipped for subsequent usefulness if the emergency lasts until their call comes.

A number of questions have arisen with regard to the possibility of the establishment of junior training camp or training corps divisions in colleges. Pretty nearly every college in this country, when the national emergency arose, applied for training camp or training corps facilities. In some, such corps had already been established; and there was an immediate and so far as I know an almost unanimous demand on the part of the colleges of the country in which such corps had not been established for their establishment. That presented to the War Department several difficult problems which we have undertaken to solve, and I trust we have solved them wisely, though nobody could be more sensible than I am that our solution has not been satisfactory in all instances.

The problem presented by those applications was this: That we are not now dealing with an Army of two or three hundred thousand men. We are about to deal with an Army of a million and a half men; and the mills and manufactories in this country which are equipped and experienced in making army supplies and equipment are too few to turn out the supplies necessary for this larger force.

We therefore have this added burden—that instead of going out into a customary market to

## THE TASK OF THE COLLEGES

buy usual supplies, we must go into an unfamiliar market, go clear back to the raw material in all likelihood, and persuade persons, who have not hitherto manufactured the sort of things we desire to have, to divert their energies from their normal domestic production into the production necessary for the War Department. That of course presented to us the problem of where we are going to get the necessary equipment of uniforms, clothing, and other sorts of supplies which this large Army will need; and it necessitates a very parsimonious and husbanding treatment of such supplies as we have or which are in immediate prospect.

Therefore, on that ground, it seems wise not to encourage the present formation of junior corps which would be outside of the emergency forces which it is our first duty to provide and equip, because equipping such junior corps would to that extent delay and diminish the quantity of supplies and equipment available to the actual forces which are first to go into training.

The second aspect of this matter is with regard to officers for training purposes. We need something like 20,000 additional officers for the training of the first increment of 500,000 men to be secured under the selective process. The training camps, it is hoped, will give us a very substantial number of those. Additional officers' training camps later on may be necessary so that we can secure enough officers. It must be

## FRONTIERS OF FREEDOM

an exceedingly intensive process; in other words, there must be a very great deal of individual attention paid to these young men who in three months are to acquire what ordinarily three years is none too much to acquire well; and therefore the Army is going, to some extent at least, to model its treatment of the problem upon the tutorial system with which colleges are so familiar, and, as far as it can, give individual treatment to the young men in these training corps. That will necessitate a very rigid devotion of the officers available for training purposes to these training camps, and makes it impossible for us to disperse our officer talent and energy by the establishment of these junior corps widespread over the country, since these camps would, of course, require competent officers to make them succeed.

It was then suggested that there perhaps might be a few such junior camps established at certain places, and that the college men from other colleges might be centered into a few colleges—one, perhaps, in each training district—and taught in those places without too great a draft upon our officer training material. I discovered that the effect of such a process would be to draft off, from all of the colleges at which such corps were not established, their students into the colleges where such corps were established; and the effect of that seems to me to threaten a very profound disorganization of

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the entire academic system of the country. It seems to me that if there were forty colleges in a district, and at only one of those colleges was military training available, the other thirty-nine would find themselves, temporarily at any rate, losing a great part of their student body. The boys would all want to go to the one at which this instruction was possible, and then perhaps forming friendships and alliances there, being imbued with the military spirit, they would return reluctantly if at all to the colleges of their normal affiliation; and so it seemed to me that such a plan might prove to be destructive of the repose which it is everybody's desire to keep as far as possible in the common life of the country during this time of emergency.

The policy of the Department, therefore, has been to maintain such corps in those colleges where they have been established prior to this emergency, but only so long as the officers there detailed can be spared from the more important duty of training the actual forces which are being fitted for actual service.

In a democracy, the calling together of the forces of the Nation for so unfamiliar a task as war necessarily produces a profound dislocation of practically every art and every association which in normal times is characteristic of the Nation's life. The college presidents, people who are connected with the institutions of higher learning, have a peculiar opportunity to exercise

## FRONTIERS OF FREEDOM

a steady and restraining influence. I think we ought all to adopt as the daily maxim of our talk and our activity that the country shall make every sacrifice necessary, shall break up every alliance, if necessary, to bring our force to bear in the most effective way; but at the same time I think that we ought to preserve the country for the common good against every unnecessary dislocation and against every unnecessary abridgment of the processes of our common life.

I do not know any source from which that sort of cool, helpful thinking can emanate with as much effect as from the college presidents of this country. We do not want to chill enthusiasm. We want to preserve enthusiasm and cultivate it and use it; but we do want to be discriminating in our enthusiasm, and prevent people from getting the notion that they are not helping the country unless they do something different, which very often is not the case at all. The largest usefulness may come from doing the same thing—just continuing to do it. Now, it is not unnatural that there should be these ebullitions of feeling, this desire to change occupation as a badge of changed service and devotion to ideals; but you gentlemen can exercise a very steady influence in that regard.

One other thought: I believe everybody in this country has been delighted at the freedom of our country from ill-considered and impulsive action in connection with this great undertaking.



## THE TASK OF THE COLLEGES

I think everybody in this country has been pleased at the good feeling which our people have maintained toward one another, the freedom of the country from internal disturbance and embittered difference of opinion. I hope that will continue; I think it will continue; and yet in a country made up as ours is, it is very easy to imagine difficulty arising from an indiscretion or from an over-zealous state of mind. I can easily imagine a man whose affiliations, for instance, would be with a German ancestry and German traditions, making an indiscreet remark and arousing a very great deal of resentment, and following this a heady community impulse not only against him and his remark, but generalized against all persons who bore the same kind of name or the same sort of traditional affiliation. And I can easily imagine a community getting itself worked up into a pretty feverish state of opinion, and feeling that it ought to resent as disloyal what was perhaps only a thoughtless and unmeant indiscretion.

Now, we are at the beginning of this. We are going to have losses on the sea; we are going to have losses in battle; our communities are going to be subjected to the rigid discipline of multiplied personal griefs scattered all through the community, and we are going to search the cause of those back to their foundation, and our feelings are going to be torn and our nerves made raw. This is the time for physicians of public

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opinion to exercise a curative impulse. You gentlemen and the young men who are in your colleges, who go to their homes from your colleges and write to their homes from your colleges, making up thus a very large part of the direction of public opinion, you can exercise a curative influence by preaching the doctrine of tolerance, by exemplifying the fact that it is not necessary for a nation like the United States, which is fighting for the vindication of a great ideal, to discolor its purpose by hatreds or by the entertainment of any unworthy emotion.

We are in a great enterprise, gentlemen. The world must have peace. The destruction of life and property which is now going on in the world is intolerable. We have at the end of a long and patient experience discovered that the world cannot be rescued from slaughter and destruction by any other process than a major exercise of the great martial force of this Republic; but we ought never to lose sight of the fact that the purpose of this war is not aggression, is not punishment; it is not inspired by resentments nor fed by ambitions, but it is loyalty to an ideal, and that ideal is freeing the world from an impossible international philosophy, a philosophy in which, if it should prevail, no freedom is left or is safe.

## THE FUNCTION OF TRADE PUBLICATIONS

*A declaration of war is always a declaration of an open season for critics; and that is rather fortunate.*

CONFERENCE OF TRADE PUBLICATION EDITORS,  
WASHINGTON, MAY 25, 1917.

WE have devoted an enormous part of the intellectual energy and the physical strength of mankind to the conquest of the forces and the resources of nature. We have reached literally into the clouds and captured the greatest servant mankind ever had and brought him down and turned him to driving our dynamos. We have reached down into the very center of the earth and taken up portions of the earth itself, and, by processes which alchemy would have regarded as miraculous, have used the bony structure of the earth as a fuel for the production of energy to serve us in physical ways. We have taken the brain of man and put it on the anvil of invention and brought out all manner of physical and mechanical contrivances, inventions, aids, and appliances, easing the burden of doing the physical work of the world. And yet, in the very nature of that process of consuming

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the earth and converting it into new forms and agencies for service and helpfulness, the question is not improper as to whether we have not created a bigger servant than we can manage.

I imagine that the inspiration of the impossible political philosophy which at present seems to govern our adversary is born of industrialism. I suspect that the motive of the pan-German movement, the Berlin-Bagdad movement,—I suspect that practically all of the major things that have been involved in that diplomacy of Middle Europe for the past twenty-five or thirty years are based upon industrial aspirations and ambitions, and if we look at it with perfect calmness, I think we can say, in an uncritical or at least in an unblaming spirit, that the German ruling mind has become so obsessed with the grandeur of industrial supremacy that it has completely lost sense of the existence of moral standards.

You and I know many Germans. Many of them have been our personal acquaintances and our friends, and a more gentle and more neighborly and more kindly and orderly set of acquaintances none of us ever had. It is not in their nature to spread poisoned candy and to poison wells, and to commit assassinations as a process of war upon the sea; it is no more a part of their nature than of anybody's else to resort to barbarity; but when the great obsession comes, after the nervous energies of a people have been devoted for a continuous number of years to the

## THE FUNCTION OF TRADE PUBLICATIONS

idea of mechanical and industrial supremacy, and the moral balance has been lost or withdrawn, then such results as we now see come to pass.

Now, why is that? It is because war has become a thing of industry and commerce and business. It is no longer Samson with his shield and spear and sword, and David with his sling; it is no longer selected parties representing nations as champions, and in physical conflict one with the other; but it is the conflict of smokestacks now, it is the combat of the driving wheel and of the engine, and the nation or group of nations in a modern war which is to prevail is the one which will best be able to coördinate and marshal its material, industrial, and commercial strength against the combination which may be opposed to it.

The very skies are filled with warriors, and the underseas as well. No small part of the mechanical progress which has been made by mankind has been drafted into the making of what is called the lethal weapon of war, and here in Washington we are undertaking now to marshal the genius and the vitality and the courage of a great peace-loving people, in order that they may throw their preponderating weight as a unit upon the scales and so rescue peace for the world.

We start into this war as the evangels of peace; we are mobilizing the industry and the resources of the United States in order that they may secure peace for the world. Every conflict

## FRONTIERS OF FREEDOM

we have among ourselves, every dissent which we allow to be pressed beyond the point of that expression of opinion which is necessary to secure wisdom, every division which we allow among ourselves, delays the achievement of the great object of this war, and it is for that reason that I address to you, as editors, these precautionary remarks. It is not possible to take the industrial, commercial, agricultural, and social life of a nation of 110,000,000 people and divert them out of their normal courses without creating here and there confusion and without breaking in upon the long-established and deeply cherished habits of great numbers of men.

The greatest asset we have is our habits; it makes unnecessary separate reasoning operations for a great variety of things which we are compelled to do daily, and it is not until we have converted an operation into a habit that it becomes an asset. Now, in this mobilization of the people of the United States we are going to jar their habits. Business houses are not going to be able to do as they used to do, in many ways; workers in industrial establishments, farmers who are tilling their fields, everybody is going to be asked to give up, or at least to permit the temporary obstruction of some of these deeply embedded habitual modes of action and thought, and, as a consequence, we are all going to be in a more or less disturbed state of mind. Things are not going to be as they usually are, and our minds are go-

## THE FUNCTION OF TRADE PUBLICATIONS

ing to be filled with questions as to whether the things which are in an unusual state are in a right or a profitable state.

You, gentlemen, are going to meet that in the trades which your journals address. Some of the reorganizations and readjustments in those trades are going to be quite fundamental and profound, and the disturbance of the line of habit and normal business is going to be exceedingly marked and difficult of rapid adjustment. Now, if your journals, catching the spirit of the community of enterprise, will preach to those who read your papers and who are influenced by them, and whose modes of thought are controlled by them—if you will preach to them the constant doctrine of the necessity of the sacrifice of habit, in order that there may be community of enterprise in this new undertaking, if you will just take the trouble to analyze the creaking which the machine develops in the process of readjustment, and point out in a large view how necessary it is that these things should be, if you will calm the apprehensions and spur the courage and determination of your clientele, you will have it in your power to make a contribution to this aggregation of our industrial and other resources in a common cause which will be second to no contribution made by any group in the country.

I am not asking you to forbear criticism. A declaration of war is always a declaration of an

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open season for critics, and that is rather fortunate. There are no perfect people, and all of us who are imperfect are anxious to have our imperfections called to our attention, so that we can be more on guard against them, and people who are exceedingly busy about great tasks are quite likely to allow their natural imperfections to run away with them, while they are absorbed about other things, so that criticism is helpful. But make it constructive. There is a man in my country from whom I learned more than from any man I ever knew, I think. He bought a house in the country, and decided that it needed a new roof. It was a very humble place, and as soon as he decided that the existing roof would not do he got a ladder and got up on the roof and tore it all off; and when he got down to the bottom of the ladder he realized that he had not yet thought of buying a new set of shingles, and it was a long time before he could either get the money together or get his friends to bring the new shingles out to him, and in that time the rains came and the winds blew, and every makeshift device that he could provide did not keep him from catching cold and ultimately dying from exposure. Make your criticism helpful and constructive; point out the right way when you discover that anything is being done wrong, and do not spare us who are here charged with responsibility, if, after you have pointed out the right way, we persist in continuing in the wrong.



## ON THE EVENING OF REGISTRATION DAY

*Men have stood in the market-place and beaten the drum and played the fife; and men have gone out to fight for causes that were less high than this. By the rotation of events and the irresistible logic of righteousness, which summons every brave arm to the right side of the cause, the United States has entered this war, and it will never turn back until it has given peace to the world.*

GEORGETOWN CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION, MONTROSE  
PARK, GEORGETOWN, REGISTRATION DAY,  
JUNE 5, 1917.

AS I sat here on the platform for the few minutes before this meeting opened, looking at this beautiful park with its fine old trees, and saw the setting sun and heard the laughter of children, there arose inevitably in my mind a sense of the profound and almost indescribable contrast between this and any other country in the world.

Our life is full and rich and varied. Our old and young alike have had a full life. If we select any other country in the world to draw our contrast from, words fail us. One might draw a sad picture of Poland, of Rumania or Belgium or Serbia—countries in which boys the size of our

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boy scouts are called upon to bear arms—but it would not give the whole truth. I saw a picture a day or two ago of a child in the Serbian Army at the end of a 10-mile walk carrying a man's musket—a child who had just stepped out of a cradle into the ranks. And if we take all countries of the earth, we find privation and sorrow written everywhere. Now, this war is costing the world at the present time something more than \$60,000,000 every day, and something more than ten thousand lives every day. And the sacrifice and the slaughter have gone on day after day with solemn certainty and with an increasing uncertainty as to the end of it all.

This is not the place for me to describe what I believe to be the cause of it; and yet, if I am permitted to put that cause in a sentence, it is because a certain group of nations have set gain above God, have set national aggrandizement and aggression above national righteousness and fair dealing. As a consequence of that, we have witnessed an increasing savagery of war; so that it is no longer a question of even the most modern science in the art of warfare, with an aim and purpose to ameliorate its severity and protect the innocent, but a complete surrender to the bestial. As they have it now, it is no longer a contest of bodies of men against bodies of men. It is no longer an open conflict upon a fair plane, where genius and strategy and courage work out a national problem. But it is, in part at least,

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the assassination by sea and slaughter by air, and the killing of women and children. It is the casual, pitiless slaughter of the unoffending and the defenseless.

And now, by the rotation of events and the irresistible logic of righteousness which summons every brave arm to the right side of the cause, the United States has entered this war. And it will never turn back until it has given the world peace; not merely a cessation of conflict, but peace based upon righteousness. And so now we are in the business of summoning the resources of the greatest nation on earth in the purest mission that a nation ever espoused. Our factories become busy; our young men register; our armies become trained; and we undertake our share in this conflict. Not to add a square inch to the territory of the United States; not to take from any man, woman, or child living in the world a single thing which belongs to him; not even for the glory of successful arms; but in order to reestablish those principles of national justice without which national continuance and life can not prevail, and to give to the stricken peoples of the world who have been fighting for the right, rest and respite to rehabilitate their almost destroyed civilization.

How splendid that cause is! There have been times in history when men stood off in the market place and beat the drum or played the fife and men went out to fight for causes that were

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less high than this—a cause without taint of selfishness and without tarnish of any unholy impulse. It is a fight for principle and right, and America responds to it; not gaily, as a nation which likes to fight, but bravely and prayerfully, resolved that it will fight to the end in a cause for democracy.

There is an old story among the Greeks that when Jason was off in some remote place and was in need of soldiers he was told to sow dragons' teeth; and, acting in faith on that advice, he sowed dragons' teeth in the earth; instantly there sprang up out of the bosom of the earth full armed and panoplied, a company of soldiers which he led to triumph. We have sown not dragons' teeth, but we have sown the principles of freedom, and when we summon the people of this mighty Nation we obtain, as did Jason in ancient times, our response. Here, all over this continent, ten million men to-day have sprung up ready to do battle for the fundamental principles upon which their liberty and their principles rest.

There are old men in this company who weigh properly the significance of this day. They know that war is terrible, and they view this day with a solemn spirit. And there are young men and young women here to-day who probably have not had the background of knowledge and experience and training to aid them to grasp the full significance of all that is going on, and who yet

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feel a sense of consecration to national service. And there are little people here to-day to whom in some sense this is a holiday and a festival. But when it is over and history takes the measure of it, it will be recognized as really a day upon which a great and free people vindicated themselves and a cause to the rest of all mankind.

Against the doubt in the minds of some as to whether a democracy could summon its strength in the issue, we find that all doubts on that subject are unworthy; that those who argue for dictatorship and strong governments are answered by the events of to-day. For I have had telegrams from more than thirty States of this Union showing that registration has proceeded from early morning until late to-day uninterrupted by any improper or discouraging event. Nor is there doubt on anybody's part that it is our patriotic duty to obey the law provided in the wisdom of Congress to summon soldiers in a just, democratic and fair way, to arm the Nation in defense of its rights.

## THE COLLEGE GRADUATE IN THE NEW WORLD

*When peace is restored, the voyagers from America will go over not idly to find the place where Europe was, but to bind up her wounds and enable her people to begin again. That will be a great day for America.*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT  
EXERCISES, JUNE 11, 1917.

I KNOW of no more pleasant office than to visit the pier of a great steamship to bid bon-voyage and God-speed to friends as they are about to undertake a voyage to a distant country. There is always just a little solicitude. The imagination conjures up dangers and difficulties which may lie in wait. And then, with happy faces and the waving of handkerchiefs, the call of glad good-bys, the ship is off; the voyagers are bound for a distant land. And so with the Commencement. It has always seemed to me an especially gratifying and pleasant thing to stand, as it were, on the shore and wave good-by and God-speed to the young men who are to embark on the voyage of life, and to allay their fears and instruct them in the dangers which we older people are assumed to have encountered and overcome.

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Education is, after all, not really so much a distinction as it is a trust. We are educated not for the purpose of making us better than other people but for putting us in a position where we are able to reach down a hand and help others. And those who properly conceive, I think, the function of education and culture in the world regard it as a disseminating medium for the purposes of life and the distribution of good to mankind. Education is a curious thing, too, because of its constant change of character. There was a time when there was very little scholarship in the world as we now know it; not that there were not always scholars. There were certain men who preferred the higher things and gave their time to reflection and contemplation and meditation. But the orbit of their inquiry was a very circumscribed one. Later, men reached out into nature and captured new forces and, with wonderful ingenuity, they have brought these forces down and made them serve mankind, to become sources of comfort and means of advancement. A great gift to the world is bestowed when a college is able to hold out her palm and give to mankind such young men who have enjoyed four years of culture and discipline of mind.

To-day is a curious day for men who are being graduated from college. I remember an old story of a child that went into a great hall in some baronial castle, and as this child played

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about among the great emblems of the past scattered through the hall, it went up to one figure which was shrouded in a soft, silken garment. The child stood wrapt in wonder as the figure shed its garment and disclosed a knight's armor. And so it is as you men come forward to-day—as your gowns fall open, the khaki of the soldier is revealed. We are under far different circumstances from those in which Commencements are ordinarily held. This great country of ours, this land of generous opportunities and resources, this land wedded to peace, this land married to justice, which has set justice and equality of opportunity and fair play above every material possession, this land of ours is at war, and that war the greatest war in the history of the human race.

And as we reflect upon this, we are reminded that the presence of war imposes new duties upon us, calls for a new organization of our people and a course out of the customary channels of our life. This war began for us as no other war within my knowledge of history ever began. For one year, two years, and two and a half years, the statesmen of this country were seeking some way to compose the agitated powers of the world, to restore justice and peace to the world. We professed neutrality and pursued and were loyal to certain fundamental principles upon which we believed national peace to rest.



## THE COLLEGE GRADUATE IN NEW WORLD

Then, not driven by hurried thoughts to quick emotions, but with a stern realization that things had come to a state in which life was utterly without security, we entered this war; not with an ambition to take from anybody anything that is his; with no revenge to satisfy; with no unholy or impure purpose and no tarnish upon our escutcheon, we appeared in this war as friends of men; as the defenders of justice; as the restorers of peace to a stricken world; as establishers of international freedom, if in God's providence it may be that nations may dwell in security and peace. I have no doubt some of you have read the stories of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. You will remember it was the function of these men to bring justice and to relieve the oppressed. They went out into the world with no particular quarrel of their own except the eternal quarrel that man has with injustice. They were knights-errant seeking to reestablish a better world. And so, although our own United States has had grievance after grievance that more than justified its entrance into war, yet in some sense the United States is a knight-errant in this conflict; in the sense at least that she is not seeking to effect a wrong purpose but to bring peace and establish justice in the shortest possible time, and seeking to give to mankind a better basis for the enjoyment of life.

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And so now we are in this great war. Our 110,000,000 people are being reassorted and new tasks are being allotted to each of us. The summons comes to some of you to put on uniforms and go as soldiers or physicians and take your place with the military forces of the nation; and to some it is a call to stay at home. It is for all a summons to a part of the great task that is to be accomplished in order that the great army at the front may succeed. But whether your place is in a trench or a workshop or factory, whether the call to you is military or civil, the call is of equal intensity to all of us to dedicate ourselves and everything we have to the success of the great cause for which our country has entered the war—to bring, as the result of our activities, peace to the world. For that is above all things what the world needs most.

But that is not especially a Commencement theme. Some day this war will be over and then there still remains a great fight to be fought. This shattered civilization has to be reconstructed and a world which has become out of order is to be readjusted and there will have to be a rehabilitation of practically all the civilized people in the world. Now there are not so many civilized people in the world. More than two-thirds of the people in the world live in bamboo houses and the “civilized” peoples are at present destroying one another at the rate of ten to fifteen thousand

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a day; their widows are dying, their children starving, and the accumulations of ten centuries of accomplishment are being destroyed and leveled to the ground. And when this holocaust is over, the rehabilitation and the reconstruction make another task which remains to be undertaken. I do not mean to undervalue your work as soldiers. If your country reaches out for one of you and asks that you give your life, then thank God that you have the opportunity to serve and if necessary to die. But if that be not your task, when the rehabilitation comes, then the education you have received here will be in great demand; the world will be very eager for men of cultured minds, men who have studied the philosophy and the history and the sciences of the race; men of learning and knowledge; men who have caught the inspiration that the college man has the best opportunity of being of service to his fellows.

And while this war is going on, I trust that all of us will recognize the imperative necessity of keeping the lamp of learning burning. We must not allow our schools to be closed. We must not feel that any of our young men who can be spared should abandon the pursuit of study. But rather all of us should feel that, while the actual conflict is on, there should be still another generation of cultured young men who will be ready to proceed with this work of reconstruction.

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I do not want to harrow your feelings by drawing any picture of the desolation of the world now, and yet it is known that empires are laid waste; in certain devastated districts of Poland it is said there is not now living a child under five years of age. Men, women and children are deported from their native places. Even babies are trampled out of existence and lost in the alternate advance and retreat of the herded people as they seek to escape their adversary. I once saw a picture of Martinique just after the volcanic eruption—a picture of a great waste; of desolation; the mountains slumbering as the stars disappeared, and a solitary voyager searching for the place where a city once was. That is just the picture of the world abroad and the realization of the destruction which has come upon it. And when we have restored peace with justice to this world, then the voyagers from America will go over, not idly to find the place where Europe was, but to bind up her wounds and enable her people to begin again. That will be a great day for America.

Our fathers established a nation in order that we might be free, and in 1917, 1918, or whenever it is to be, in God's providence, that peace is restored in this world, we will take up the torch our fathers lit in 1776 and plant it in Europe to help make the whole world free.

I congratulate you, therefore, young gentlemen, upon your graduation day and this com-

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mencement in life. I greet you especially because you are commencing at an heroic time—you are entering life in an heroic age. The commonplaces have been swept aside and there is great men's work before you. Don't let your learning stop with your diploma—continue it, and always hold it in readiness to bestow on others. Adopt for your own the motto exemplified in the life of Farragut, "who always lived so as at any time to be equal to the greatest task in the service of mankind which could by any possibility be demanded of him."

## THE INDEPENDENCE OF 1776 AND THE LIBERTY OF 1917

*I can see the day when our harbors will be filled with the mass of ships returning from abroad and bringing back our soldiers. They will come with their ranks thinned by sacrifice, but with themselves glorified by accomplishment; and when they tell us that they have won the fight for democracy in Europe, we must be able to tell them in return that we have kept the faith of democracy at home.*

INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION, THE MAYOR'S  
COMMITTEE, THE STADIUM, COLLEGE OF THE CITY  
OF NEW YORK, JULY 4, 1917.

**I**N 1776, on the 4th day of July, a nation was born, dedicated to a new theory of government and a new ideal of human liberty. On the 4th day of July, 1917, our newspapers announced throughout the continent, to a people who for nearly one hundred and fifty years have known political liberty, and with it unexampled progress, that an expeditionary force of their soldiers had landed, without the loss of a man, on the soil of France to defend in that place the great principle of democracy and liberty under which they have thrived so long.

In passing, it will be deemed appropriate for

me to pay a tribute of thanks from the Army to the Navy for the superb way in which they acquitted themselves of the grave responsibility of that convoy. And I think I can say to the American people that the splendid coöperation between the Navy and the Army which characterized this first martial exploit is a promise of a happy and effective coöperation in the future. So that we can look forward to the American Army and the American Navy, the two strong arms of the American people on many glorious fields and on many glorious seas, sustaining the traditions of our country and establishing forever the belief that free men in a battle for freedom need fear no foe.

One of the traditional policies of the United States from its beginning has been the avoidance of entangling alliances. The United States is in no entangling alliance. We are in this war upon no sordid mission of any sort. We do not seek to take the possessions of any other people or to impose by force our will upon any other people in the making of their government or by an encroachment upon their rights. But after a patience absolutely unparalleled and after an effort worthy of our civilization to accomplish the recognition of our rights and of our freedom, by diplomacy and by every peaceful art, America is in arms now to vindicate upon the battlefield the right of democracy to exist against the denials of autocracy.

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Things have come to a pass in this world where all mankind must choose whether the nations of the earth are to be autocratic in their government and militarist in their pretensions or democratic in their governments and just in their pretensions.

America has chosen—nay, she chose in 1776—to be democratic in her policies and in her government, and our whole history in the years since then justifies the statement that our people are wedded and devoted to the idea of international justice as the rule by which nations shall live together in peace and amity upon the earth.

So that when we entered this war we entered it in order that we and our children and our children's children might fabricate a new and better civilization under better conditions, enjoying liberty of person, liberty of belief, freedom of speech and freedom as to our political institutions. We entered this war to remove from ourselves, our children and our children's children the menace which threatened to deny us that right.

I want to appeal to you and to all Americans. Never, during the progress of this war, let us for one instant forget the high and holy mission with which we entered it, no matter what the cost, no matter what the temptation.

Modern times have witnessed many new things. The great science of medicine and sani-



tation has wonderfully advanced, and all the safeguards that knowledge and science can throw around our soldiers are to be placed about them. And in the great encampments, where they are to be trained, modern recreation experts are to provide wholesome and attractive amusements for their leisure, so that when they come out of the Army they will have no scars except those honorably won in warfare against the enemy of their country.

We must look forward to the end of this great business. We at home must fight for democracy here as our armies for it abroad. In the midst of our military enterprises we must be equally loyal to our own political theories here. All this vast reorganization of industry must be made without the loss of the great physical and social gains which we have achieved in the last sevenscore years, mostly years of peace and fruitful effort and toil.

We must not allow the hours and conditions of people who work and labor in factories and workshops to be upset and interfered with. We must preserve the sweetness of our rights. We must agree in deeds of grace here, as our soldiers do deeds of grace on the other side, for I can see the day when our harbors will be filled with the mass of ships returning from abroad and bringing back our soldiers.

They will come, it may be with their ranks somewhat thinned by sacrifice, but with them-

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selves glorified by accomplishments; and when those heroes step off the boats and tell us that they have won the fight for democracy in Europe, we must be able to tell them in return that we have kept the faith of democracy at home and won battles here for that cause while they were fighting there. The end of this whole matter is that when this war is over and it is definitely determined among the children of men that autocracy is bidden to veil its face forever; when government becomes all over the world merely the instrument of enlightened popular will and judgment; when the interests of the lowest and the least in every society are vital to the welfare and the interest of all that society; when the rule of the people is established in the world and the historians write it down that America, born in freedom and dedicated to liberty, has saved that great doctrine for the salvation of mankind—it will then be said that in 1917 we arrayed our Nation and sent to the war our soldiers; that we sustained them by our industrial enterprises at home; that we kept our national spirit pure and undefiled; and that the dawn of liberty for men all over the world dates from that day when our soldiers landed in France and began the final battles of freedom.

## THE BATTLE OF THE ENGINEERS

*I hope that some day the pretensions of dynasties and the contentions of autocracy will be swept into the wastebasket of a forgotten age.*

SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF ENGINEERING  
EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, JULY 7, 1917.

THE art of war has always depended upon such science as there was at the time. If we take science out of the war in which we are now engaged we would be back to the stone axe and the javelin. If it be true, as I think it is, that the engineer is the transmuter of the means of science into the accomplishments of modern industry and modern civilization, then there is a message that can be given to those interested in the promotion of engineering education.

Before attempting, however, to state what I think the mission of the engineering schools is, it may not be inappropriate for me to say as a truism that never before in the history of the world has science and engineering been as vital to the conquest of war as it is now. The headquarters of a general in the field is now composed not merely of adjutants and couriers of

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military character, but every commanding general, I suppose, in this war is surrounded by scientists and engineers, and no important military operation can now be undertaken upon what were at one time purely military considerations; there must be concerted, for the guidance of the commanding general, scientific data with regard to the earth, the sky, and the waters under the earth.

The place of the geologists, the place of the constructing engineers, is at the council table of the commanding general, and strategy in war no longer consists of mere movements of masses of men, but it takes into account accurate and scientific knowledge of the physical surroundings and the physical conditions, and that, of course, can be brought to the coördinate judgment of the commanding general only by the aid of engineers.

This is true not only of the active military operations conducted in the field; it is true in a very much larger sense of all that goes into the preparation of military activities. The electrical engineer is now as much a part of the Engineering Corps and the Coast Artillery Corps in defense of the country as any purely military officer. That is merely descriptive of a situation. But the thing you are to consider is what contribution ought now to be made by those institutions which are devoting themselves to the production of engineers for the emergency in

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which the Government and the Nation finds itself. We are at war with one of the greatest powers in the world, with a power that at the beginning of the war was the greatest military power on earth. Our adversary has reverted, has gone back to ancient and, we believe, barbarous methods. Our duty is to answer every nation that has gone back to inhuman methods; to answer by taking an advanced method and by bringing to the Government the latest and most scientific devices; to answer our adversary by wiser and more effective preparation, with superior knowledge and advanced positions of a scientific kind, so that we will overcome by deserving to overcome, by using the latest resources of mankind to resist his aggression.

Most of you gentlemen are connected with engineering schools. We have in the Army a certain number of engineers, but this is no occasion for us to rely upon the handful of technical assistants which the Government has under its constant service. There must be coördination of the scientific talent of the whole country. There must be added all of the scientific genius and knowledge of the country. The man in the trenches who shoulders a gun and stands face to face with his adversary is doing a more striking and a more heroic job, but the man in the laboratory is doing a work by which our soldiers may be less exposed in warfare; in other words his

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aim will be to bring a maximum efficiency with a minimum of loss, and this is as truly a necessary task.

The progress in the art of war is from day to day, not from year to year. There must be the same sort of response by the engineering scientists of this country. In addition to that, an even larger subject is the relation of engineering education and technical education to the prospective needs of the country. We are in need of fresh accessions of trained young men from the technical schools of the country. Our Coast Artillery and our Engineer departments are in constant need of large accessions and they can get them at their very best from the schools you gentlemen are associated with. It therefore becomes the necessary thing that in peace time the great engineering schools of the country should in large part contribute to the actual organization of the Army a substantial part if not the major part of peace-time preparation for our defense should aggression force us into defensive action.

I hope, therefore, if the thing can be made concrete, that it will be assumed that one of the functions of the colleges and technical schools mainly devoted to these subjects ought to be so to modify the curricula of their schools that the young men who have special aptitude for the scientific things which are useful in military science will have an opportunity to develop their aptitude and bring their talent to the aid of their

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country either for peace-time preparation or in an emergency such as faces the country now.

So that my suggestion to you gentlemen is that all of the engineering and scientific talent of the country—and the utmost pressure should be devoted to this end—should study the solution of the scientific problems presented by the war. You ought to expedite the training of young men for immediate use by the Government in this great emergency, and you ought to look forward for the future to a large contribution of your great engineer schools and colleges and to correlating the training so that it will be very easy for the young men to render a maximum assistance to the Government if the emergency comes.

Nobody knows what the world is going to be like when this war is over. No imagination is able to picture the sort of civilization the world will have after this conflict. Nobody can say how long this war is going to last. But we do know that when this war is over the rehabilitation of a stricken if not paralyzed civilization is going to be a long-drawn-out and uphill task, and there will be need on every hand for trained minds, for trained and schooled men. That day of the engineer will be indeed the great day. Men should then be present in very large numbers to help bring about the rehabilitation of industries, and reconstruction upon an earth which has been swept by an all-consuming conflagration.

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And so I think you ought to have as an especial object the urgent invitation to young men of America to come into your technical schools and devote themselves to engineering branches of education; so that when this war is over our struggle will not have been in vain; that our young men can quickly and efficiently play their part in reconstruction.

We have just emerged into the twentieth century, and it seems there are just a few of the legacies of the nineteenth century that must be eradicated. When the reconstruction of the world takes place; when a finer and better civilization has been worked out; when the human race puts its shoulder to the wheels of industry and begins to spread abroad the incalculably valuable discoveries of science, I can imagine that a new history of the world will be written. And it will date, I think, from this great war, when men realized perhaps for the first time in a fundamental way that the waste in conflict was an irrecoverable waste; that the upkeep of enormous armies was too great a burden to bear; and that the real happiness of mankind is based upon those peaceful pursuits which aim to make available the great resources of the world.



## THE RESPONSIBILITY OF AN OFFICER OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

*We are in the business of making the world safe for democracy; but we are also in the business of showing to the world what we for a long time have known, that democracy is safe for the world!*

CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST OFFICERS' TRAINING  
CAMP, FORT MYER, VA., AUGUST 13, 1917.

FOR a long time the Army of the United States was such an Army as a great Nation bent on the ideals of peace might with propriety have; an Army of men of the highest character and most perfect training, but small in number; and when this great occasion of war arose, the quality of that Army became instantly apparent, for in all the training camps scattered throughout the country the same story has been told. Young men in large numbers have been received, for the most part without previous military service, and in an incredibly short space of time have been made to march and feel and act like veterans. Thus our Regular Army has shown its vitality by its capacity for rapid absorption and expansion. I congratulate ourselves, and the whole

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country, upon the fact that at the call of the country there could be assembled in these training camps, and so rapidly, such numbers of men without previous experience and training, but of a quality and character to take on readily these new capacities and aptitudes which are required in order that they may be officers of the new Army.

We have for many many years thought most of peace, and there were certainly many people who doubted whether we could, in a short space of time, develop the national capacity for great military effort. But whatever doubts may have been entertained at any time on that subject have been dispelled by you gentlemen in this camp and your associates and fellows in the other training camps of the United States. It has not been very long since I first saw you here upon the third day of your assembling. Even then you had begun to acquire the setting up and the appearance of soldiers, and in these few short weeks you have acquired, as it seems to my eye, the proficiency of men of long devotion to military pursuits. It is an inspiration to us in this country to feel that in our colleges, on our athletic fields, in our daily social life, there is not a deadening inertia, but there are latent capacities ready for rapid development, so that as a free and peace-loving democracy we can count with certainty upon the presence of these elements and upon the strength and daring of any

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organizations which are necessary to defend the Nation in the hour of need.

I shall not, of course, discuss the cause of this war; that issue has been settled for the people of the United States, and our country has gone into the conflict, not tossing its cap in the air, but with the moral law written on its heart, stimulating and encouraging its every energy. You gentlemen have been trained now to be the first set of officers in the National Army, and in a short time you will be off in other places receiving the young men of this country and molding them into an army. The men who are to come to you have not been selected by the old process of volunteering, chiefly for the reason that under modern war conditions, involving all the energies of a nation, that method of selection is not sufficiently discriminating, and so another process—one in which the Nation lays down the rules and exercises the choice—has been devised for inviting the young men of the country to assemble in the Nation's Army.

These young men are considered as being intrusted to the Government, and you are the representatives of the Government in receiving them, for the purpose of being disciplined, instructed, drilled, and ultimately used in the defense of the principles upon which this Government rests.

I want you always to remember that you are officers of a democratic army, that discipline with us at least is not devised for the creation

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of pleasant emotions in a man who gives an order, and humiliation in a man who receives it, but is devised for the purpose of executing the common will and of preserving the common right; in short, in the giving of an order you are the trustees of the common voice to execute the common will and preserve the common safety. Therefore, your duty as officers is to remember that the men in the ranks, like yourselves, are citizens and members of a free people, that all the obedience and discipline necessary to effect the common purpose is appropriate and proper; and yet that the human relations in an army of a free people are important, and the surroundings, the welfare, the happiness, and the life of every man intrusted to you to command, is a part of the wealth of this Nation intrusted to you to use most carefully, and to return with the utmost safety you can.

The progress that the Nation is making in the organization of its forces is a progress astonishing to those who doubted the vitality of democracy as a form of government. We are in the business of making, in the phrase of the President, "the world safe for democracy," but we are also in the business of showing to the world, what we for a long time have known, that democracy is safe for the world.

You will go from this camp to places scattered all over the United States. Some of you may meet again in Army experience, and some of you may

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not. You have been given here *esprit de corps*; you have been given the best traditions of the Army and the Nation. I ask each of you to feel, in whatever company you may be, wherever you are associated with men who wear the uniform of our country, that you are a trustee of the Nation's honor and of the Nation's interest, and that it is your duty to pass along to those whom you, in turn, shall train, the highest inspiration and the splendid traditions which you have received at the hands of those who trained you here.

## LABOR'S DIGNITY AND ITS DUTY

*If nobody had ever known honesty, it would have occurred to some scalawag to invent it, for it pays.*

LABOR DAY CELEBRATION, NEWPORT NEWS, VA.,  
SEPTEMBER 3, 1917.

**I** FIRST want to call your attention to two things about the United States. There is no other country in the world which has in the last twenty-five or thirty years made such amazing progress in all the mechanical arts. The ingenuity and skill of our workmen has so transcended that of any other country in the world that we may say without boasting that ours is the first industrial country of the world. And, second, I want you to note that there is no country in the world which, during the same period of years, has made so much progress in realising the importance of the life and health and welfare of the worker to the nation as the United States. I can remember that when I was a boy I used to be told in Sunday School that all men were brothers and because of this sonship in a common faith, because of this brotherhood of men, we owed one another an obligation of care, solicitude and kindness. But that was a somewhat ill-defined

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and indefinite thing. We have made this discovery in the United States—that we are brothers not merely in the sense of a common faith but in an economic sense; that we are so tied together in this modern world of industrialism that the welfare of every man in society is of vital importance to every other man in society. It used to be thought that when a man had made a fortune, as it is called, he could retire in happiness and that the rest of mankind was to him a matter of indifference; but now we have learned in America that no man is so rich or so great as to be removed from the necessary and vital interest in the welfare of the poorest man in America. We have discovered that if it be the fate of any group in society to have learned to neglect the welfare of its workers, that group is doomed to decay, disintegration and dissolution, because this fact has been brought home to the people—that the welfare of a nation depends not upon the number of its rich men nor the number of its wise men, nor the quantity of wisdom nor richness, but it depends upon the plane upon which the great mass of mankind lives. If that be elevated a point, there come into the life of the worker sweetness, recreation and repose. If the door of opportunity is open to the children of the worker, there is predestined continuous progress and success. Now as a consequence of our having reached that idea, these things have been achieved in America and we have made great ethical gains. . . . America

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is at the top among the nations of the world by reason of this fact—that we have compulsory and universally free education, and that in the last twenty-five or thirty years, this process of education has gone on until we have written upon the statute books of the various States wise and prudent laws restricting the hours of labor of women employed in workshops and factories. Five, nearly six, million women in the United States earn their own living and the whole mind of America has been awakened to the fact that the mothers of the future generation cannot be sacrificed by too long hours or by insanitary conditions without imperiling the generation that is to follow.

One of the things that most interested me when I first became interested in public affairs was child labor. I remember how I used to point to the mines of Pennsylvania and other places where little children of nine, even seven, years of age were employed long hours, with the result that their little backs became bent, they became weak and the whole vitality of the nation was threatened by that assault upon its vigor. We used to point out that while we were working children in the factory nine or ten hours a day, insanity was increasing so that there was not a State which had room enough in its asylums for its insane, nor room in its prisons for its convicts. As Mayor of a great city, I used to stand in the police court and see young men sixteen or seventeen years of



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age who had been put into mills and factories before they had had any education. Their consciences and minds had been enfeebled so that they yielded to the temptations of a great city, and gave themselves up to crime. In the twenty years which have elapsed since that day there is not a State which has not prohibited that sacrifice of the youth of our country; all over this land we find our workshops inspected by public inspectors who report the sanitary conditions under which they work and there is going on a gradual elevation of the life of the whole people of the United States as a consequence of an awakening on the part of the people to the fact that right pays. I remember reading a statement that if nobody had ever known honesty, some scallawag would have invented it because it pays. Right always pays.

Every now and then somebody tells me that the people of the United States have not yet realized that there is a war. *You* realize it. I don't suppose it is possible for anybody to cast his eyes over these waters without knowing that war is going on. . . . How very different this realization is now from 1914, when war started. When the war first broke out, I have no doubt everybody in this room was puzzled as to what caused it to break out. We read the newspapers with the thought: "This is another one of those questions which pass the comprehension of us over here." Later we saw that it was

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becoming a universal question. We found that the Central Empires were drawing themselves together and practically dividing the civilization of the rest of mankind. We found that Russia, great, vast, sleeping Russia, a land long governed by tyranny but a land predestined to a great future (and you and I will all live to see the day when the kinship between Russia and the United States will show the development of a democracy of which we can claim to have been in some sense the authors, and of which we will always be the partners and beneficiaries)—we found that Russia was involved; then England was brought into it. Then we began to find this strange thing, that, instead of being a war about the Balkans or about some obscure question, it was in reality a war to settle a question which affects every man who lives on the face of the earth. That question is not whether Serbia shall apologize to Austria, but that question is:—“Are men created to be the slaves of a State or is the State created to be the servant of men?”

I need not summarize the philosophy of the Central Empires to you. The people of Germany have been taught to believe that German culture, German civilization is so much better than any other civilization or culture in the world that it is their duty to force it upon the rest of the world, and to kill all the rest of the world in the process if necessary. I am not stating it too strongly; I am not stating it more strongly than their

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own philosophers have stated it. Our theory has been other than that. We have inherited the belief that the State is an association or partnership, organized by a number of persons for the purpose of attending to their common affairs, so that their lives can be lived in peace and security. We have come to a place where it is to be decided which of these philosophies is right; whether autocracy or democracy shall rule; whether the true life of men is that of servitude or that of liberty and freedom. We were attending to our own business and we tried to be as neutral as we could, when the Central Powers suddenly began more and more ruthlessly to encroach upon our rights. They announced and lived up to the policy that nothing should stand between them and success and that they would not merely override their enemies but they would crush the life out of neutrals and friends if necessary to accomplish their purpose.

It seems a remote thing and yet every time I close my eyes I can see the docks at Queenstown—the boats coming in and landing women and children, mothers dead with babes clutched in their arms. All day long that procession comes until at nightfall there lie on those docks hundreds of people, many American men and American women; many American babies slaughtered by the juggernaut of German Imperialism.

Our country, under the leadership of her President, was very peaceful. We are a peaceful peo-

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ple by nature. Our preference is for the paths of peace. We love to do justice rather than to make war and so, by all the arts of diplomacy, we sought composition with our mad adversary, until finally, after we had received promises readily made but ruthlessly broken, after it became perfectly evident that indiscriminate war was to be made upon every man, woman and child in the universe, and after it became apparent that all America's rights were involved, then the Administration, the Congress and the people of the United States determined that we should go in and help put an end both to this false philosophy and to these murderers of civilized practices.

And so we are in this war. We are not stirring up evil passions in ourselves about individuals. I think I can say that I do not hate any man, German or otherwise, in this world; but I know that the American people have a relentless and unalterable determination to stay in this struggle until this reign of terrorism is forever banished and the relations of nations and peoples upon the earth are established upon a basis of justice and equality instead of limitless power and insane ambition.

Some people say that they do not know how long the war will last. I do! It will last until we win it. When it has been won, we shall not punish, we shall not undertake to defy the laws of nature and the wishes of men; but with victory in one hand, we will try to bring benefaction in

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the other and bind up the wounds of the human race. Now why do I say this to you? There are in this audience some young men wearing the uniform of our country and it may be their lot to fight in the trenches on the Western Front. Most of this audience is made up of men and women who can never bear that kind of a part in the struggle. But you can bear another kind of part in the struggle—and that one of tremendous importance. Under modern conditions, wars are not made by soldiers only, but by nations. The man who is at the riveting hammer in this ship-building yard, the man who drives the trains that take the goods to the people abroad; the clerk who enters upon his records the things to be shipped—every man, woman and child in the United States is contributing to the aggregate of our national strength in this cause. Since we first began, I have been thrown much with labor and its representatives. I have learned to love and admire the abilities, loyalty and patriotism of Samuel Gompers and his associates. I have learned to know that labor is loyal, that labor is part of this country in its determination to win the war. I want to ask you especially who live at Newport News, in this great center, this beehive of war activity,—I want to ask you to inspect your own efforts with this kind of reflection:—Pick out some boy in uniform and remember that some day he may be under fire and the thing between life and death for him may be some

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thing that you are doing in Newport News. Whenever you strike a rivet, men, regard it as an act for justice and liberty. Do your share here in order that success may come to those abroad. Then when this is all over; when the clock that God has fixed in His watch-tower strikes twelve upon this horrible series of events,—when that time comes, America, by the coöperation of her workers and her statesmen, by the coöperation of her soldiers abroad and her soldiers at home, will have built up a true democracy of feeling among us, so that we can enter into the life which is to follow this great struggle, hand in hand. The distinctions and differences will be broken down among us and a common purpose created so to elevate the general life of our country that the future generations of men and women will get out of this war benefits that will compensate for the losses and sacrifices which we are called upon to put into it. I want the blood of every American boy which must needs be spilled abroad,—if any must be spilled there,—I want the labor on this side of the ocean and on that side given as a fructifying influence for true democracy, and for the greater day to come when nations will live together, bound in ties of justice and arbitrating their disputes, taking common council among themselves in order to improve the conditions of men everywhere. So that when the historian writes the story of this war, he will close the chapter with the statement that out of

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this great struggle of the human race there arose an heroic quality of spirit which, transmuted into works, ennobled the people and the faith of mankind on earth.

## THE MARCH TOWARD LIBERTY

*For a thousand years children will read in their books of history, and the literature of the world will be enriched with the poetry and romance growing out of this age in which we live. We pour out our treasures, not at the feet of the God of War, but into the lap of the Goddess of Liberty!*

LIBERTY LOAN MEETING, KEITH'S THEATER,  
WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 8, 1917.

**I**N this center of the nation's activity; in this city, which since we went into this war has perhaps doubled in population; in this city where the once peaceful beauty of a quiet capital has given place to almost feverish preparation and activity, there seem to be obvious lessons on every street and in every house, of the character of the task which the nation has assumed; and yet it is not inappropriate that a few words should be said that will give some comprehension, perhaps, of the size of that task and bring home its patriotic lesson to the people who are privileged to live thus close to the center of the nation's life.

For a thousand years, children will read in their books of history and the literature of the world will be enriched with the poetry and ro-



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mance growing out of this age in which we live. The stories which will then be told, are the history which is now being made, and I delight, in moments of idleness, to try to project myself into that remote and distant future and see the bent figure of some school-boy as he pores over the history of this period; I think I can detect even in a boy so remote from the action of this time, the surge of enthusiasm in the things that the world is now doing.

I shall not undertake in the very brief time allotted for this address, to recount the history of the European War prior to our entrance into it nor the occasion for our entrance. But if there be anything certain about a contemporaneous estimate of the historical facts, the verdict of history will be that this, the first great free nation of the world—in this age the greatest nation in the world, in material resources, and in the progress she has made—was also the greatest nation on the face of the earth at this time in her moral quality and in the superb patience with which she endeavored to avert this catastrophe.

For long and weary months, with our minds daily harrowed and our hearts nightly torn with the stories of destruction, devastation, cruelty and despoliation of peoples everywhere, we still hoped against hope that the war could be brought to a conclusion, just to mankind and promising for future progress, without the unsheathing of our sword.

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When, finally, after one bitter evidence had accumulated upon another, and we realized that this was really the final war of two great philosophies; and when we as Americans realized that the nations fighting on what we now call our side were really children of our spirit and baptized with the notion of liberty which we had fostered in this country for over a hundred years; and when we realized that England, France, Italy and Russia were fighting the battle not for selfish aggrandizement, but for liberty and opportunity, and for the philosophy of democracy on the part of the whole world, it became necessary for us to join with them in order to vindicate that philosophy.

On the bottom of the pathless ocean lie now the bones and the bodies of American men, women and children slain while we were still neutral, in defiance of every law that man ever ordained for the limitation of the horrors of war. Our special grievance was only the occasion, and now that we are entered in this great conflict, we realize, with an inspiration that I think must fire every man, that this is merely the second stage in the march of the human race toward liberty. It began in 1776. In 1917 we pass the next milestone, and when it is passed, men and women everywhere will realize that no return of the Darker Age is possible; that victory has been won in this contest, autocracy having been demonstrated as too wasteful and too regardless of

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human life and human treasure to be tolerated, and democracy having been demonstrated to be not only the source of fruitful happiness and opportunity in time of peace, but to contain in itself the strength to survive. Having thus demonstrated the feebleness and viciousness of the principle of autocracy and the virility and salvation of the principle of democracy, we will start from a fresh platform with a new idea of its possibilities and a new hold upon permanent liberty and democratic institutions.

As a result, this country presents a strange but inspiring spectacle. I have had some opportunity at Washington to participate in the formulation of plans, and out of Washington, I have had some opportunity to see the fruition of those plans. In sixteen places in this country cities have been built, as it seems, over night, housing great multitudes of peoples—thirty and forty thousand young men selected out of the body of our men; not in response to a sudden impulse of the military power, but selected by the civilian agencies of our people and presented to our government to be trained as a great army to participate in this reconquest of the world's liberty. Thus great cities have been built.

Where we used to spend five, ten, or fifteen millions of dollars, we are now spending money that counts up in the billions. We are financing to some extent those associated with us in this war who have been long bearing the drain and

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strain of continuous warfare. We are spending money for munitions of war and for supplies, and our factories are responding with extraordinary energy. In workshops, factories, stores, the people of America have associated themselves in this great enterprise until our nation, our peaceful and peace-loving nation, is to-day knit together in spirit, more harmonious in its aspirations, more effective in its occupations. We are more of a nation to-day than we have been at any time in the whole hundred years and more of our glorious history.

I have stood at those camps and watched the boys who are preparing to be soldiers. I have seen them stream past by tens of thousands; some of them fresh-called to the colors from homes in remote places, far from the great rush of the world's events; some of them students from colleges; some of them engineers, men of occupations, professions, science; and as I have seen those youthful faces I have had a new realization of the springs of national action. As I saw those men I could not persuade myself that all of them were deeply read in the history of the world; I could not persuade myself that they knew the ultimate nature of this conflict of freedom with autocracy in the world; but there they marched with the sun shining on their faces, with flushed health in their cheeks, determination and a heroic quality about them that simply pervaded the atmosphere. And I realized that it is not

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necessary for a man to be a philosopher or a scholar to be a patriot, that there is something subtle in the very character of our soil that goes into the system of those born on it, and that this great army of young men reaching from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and now streaming across the Atlantic are men who possess that subtle quality and are filled with the spirit of patriotism, and that when our forces actually join with those on the other side the great battle will be won.

And that schoolboy a thousand years from now who reads the history of this age will read with admiration and throbbing heart of France—leader in the world's civilization, that country through which Defoe said every great idea had to pass in order that it might be familiarized to the world—he will read of that France, not prepared for this sort of struggle, devoting herself to the redemption of her freedom and protection of her soul. When he comes to her glorious victory at the Marne, he will experience such a thrill as we used to feel as we read the story of Thermopylæ and Marathon. And when he comes to read of England he will have a realization of the English people which I think is slowly being brought home to us all. The English people speak of themselves as “muddling through”; but that schoolboy a thousand years from now will promptly see that that nation, with its terrible patience, was able to wait and coördinate its military and industrial strength until it arrived at

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a point, when it could and did, with clock-like regularity, beat back the foe.

Then he will come to our entrance into the war, and coupling it up with what he has been reading before, he will go back to the origin of our liberty and see the people of this continent, having wrought out their own civilization, having elevated the individual man to a new dignity in world affairs, join the others, and he will realize that the victory will belong to the heroic quality of these united races.

He will ask whether all the war, all the victory, was won at the front. He will find that war had become of such a quality that the fighting men are but part of a nation's army, that there is required to be at home in the field the grower of food and in the factory the maker of products, in order that the men at the front may fight; and that underlying the whole structure, is the financial stability and the financial willingness of the people to fight the fight.

And so, with this opportunity to subscribe to Liberty Bonds, we are appealing now to the very foundation of the nation's strength and the indispensable thing upon which its activities must rest, and we ask the people of the United States to sacrifice. I have had, since I have been Secretary of War, thousands of letters from high-spirited men and women all over the United States, from children nine and ten years old to men eighty and ninety, asking me "Where can I

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do my bit? What sacrifice can I make to advance this cause?" Some are too young and some are too old to fight, but none are too old or too young to sacrifice in this great financial effort, which is the basis upon which all must rest.

I can see victory ahead of us; a victory in arms, it is true, but a higher victory than that. I can see the American spirit, the unselfish, uncorrupted, untainted spirit of America with which we have gone into this struggle, dominant in the world as the result of that victory. I can see the peace that is to be made as the result of this great struggle; and it is a peace which brings us no selfish advantage, no national monopoly of the goods of the world, the possession of nobody else's goods and fortunes as the outcome, but an enkindling of a new spirit of justice; a peace after which the nations of the earth will join hands in harmonious coöperation rather than in selfish, deadly preparation for mutual destruction. And in order that there may be a war fought to a victorious conclusion, a peace so high and beneficent as that, those who are carrying forward this campaign ask you to pour out your money, not at the feet of the God of War, but into the lap of the Goddess of Liberty.

## INVISIBLE ARMOR

*I want them adequately armed by their Government, but I want them to have also an invisible armor to take with them.*

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WAR CAMP COMMUNITY  
RECREATION SERVICE, WASHINGTON,  
OCTOBER 23, 1917.

THIS great national emergency presents two responsibilities and two opportunities. One, of course, is the perpetuation of the principles upon which our Government is established, by success against the adversary who has questioned our integrity. The other is the coincident upbuilding of the strength and wholesomeness and virility of our own people. The task, or a part of the task, which in a special sense has been adopted by you, has more to do with the latter than with the former of those two opportunities, though it is of first importance.

We are interrupting the normal life of this Nation. We are summoning out of their communities and their homes a vast number of young men. We are taking men from their normal environments, from their usual occupations; we are violently interrupting their customary modes



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of thought. Now, everybody knows, of course, that one of the great social restraints, one of the things that make ordered society possible at all, is the existence of a state of social habits on the part of a people; that those social habits are the things we acquire as we grow up in a community. They are enforced by the sanction of personal approval of the people with whom we have to deal. They are enforced by the approval of neighborhood opinion. They constitute the chief force for the preservation of order and for the progress which society makes.

I am sure that nearly everybody in this company will remember Emerson's description of a child's first contact with society, how he goes out of his house and finds a policeman, who to him represents a restraint, the social restraint, of his community. That policeman embodies the idea of force in the interest of order; and as the child grows up, he gradually enlarges the policeman until the policeman becomes the Government. As he grows older still, he philosophizes the policeman, until the officer represents the consent of the community to those sacrifices of individual liberty which are necessary in the interest of the common good.

Now that state of mind, which exists in every community and in every individual, is being violently disturbed by our withdrawal of large numbers of young men from their homes, from their families, from their social organizations, from

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their communities, from their church organizations, from all the various affiliations which the young men have made as a part of their social education.

We are collecting those young men in vast groups and subjecting them to an entirely unaccustomed discipline. In a certain sense, we are training their minds to an entirely new set of ideals. We are sweeping away all of the social pressures to which they have become accustomed, and are substituting therefor military discipline during that portion of their time when drill and the military régime are necessarily imposed on their lives. And we are taking these groups of men and bringing them up to and in contact with city civilization and town civilization.

Now a large part of these young men have been accustomed to city life. Some of them, however, are straight from the country. Some of them are from remote parts of the country, far away from the places where they have hitherto lived, away from the people whose opinion has hitherto been their guide and control. We are surrounding the people of this country with an entirely new population, a population which is not integrated with its life, a great mass of people who are encamped on the borders of a town or a city and are wholly foreign to the local feelings and sentiments of the community.

Now that presents a very grave problem in dealing with human beings. It presents several

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problems. The first of them is: What are those soldiers going to do to the towns, and what are the towns going to do to the soldiers?

I think it is safe to say that no army ever before assembled in the history of the world has had so much thought given and so much labor performed in the interest of its social organization. It is no reflection on anybody to say that the ancient method of assembling an army was first to have some sort of inspiring music played through the street, to have a local oratorical outburst on the subject of the particular cause for which the army was desired, to have young men follow the music and then be taken off to make their own camps and conditions, and with that much training to be sent to the battlefield.

But the United States is a civilized country. Nobody realized how civilized it was until we assembled this army, for instantly there came from all parts of the country a demand that this army should not be raised as armies hitherto had been; that it should not be environed as armies hitherto had been, but that such arrangements should be made as would insure that these soldiers, when actually organized into an army, would represent and carry out the very highest ideals of our civilization.

In the second place, this army came from our country. Everywhere there was the demand that these young men, whom we were taking

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from their homes and families, from wives and children, from mothers, sisters and intimates, these young men whom we were separating from their church environments, their social organizations and social clubs—everywhere, I say, there was the demand that they should come back with no other scars than those won in honorable warfare!

Now the accomplishment of that task is not difficult, but it requires a tremendous amount of comprehending coöperation and sympathy, and this great company of men and women here this morning is the answer to that need. It shows that the commercial organizations of our country, bodies like the Rotary Clubs, those organizations which are leaders in their various communities, appreciate the demand of the country with regard to its soldiers, and are willing to supply the social basis for a modern civilized army.

America has learned, I think, more than any other country about the life of adolescent youths. There is no other country, to my knowledge, in which the task has been so thoroughly done as it has been in America by the American colleges and higher schools. I have sometimes been rather skeptical about the advantage of intercollegiate athletics. It has seemed to me to lay the emphasis on the wrong place, and rather to over-emphasize the development of the athletic as against the mental in the boy.

When we established training camps for young

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officers, the American high schools and colleges poured out into the lap of this Nation the finest body of material for the rapid manufacture of officers that any country ever assembled since the beginning of time. And they came to us not merely with trained minds, with handsomely developed aptitudes for acquiring new habits of thought, but they came to us with finely trained athletic bodies, and with the American spirit of fair play, which, if not born, is at least nurtured on the athletic field. If we can do for the boy in the training camp what the American college has done for the boy in college and what the American high school has done for the boy in the high school; that is to say, if we can work his mind and work his body, and surround his moments of recreation and leisure with such wholesome opportunities as to keep him from being diverted and turned to unwholesome things, we have solved the problem.

For a great many years in America we have been struggling almost despondently with the problem of the large cities. We knew that the large city was economically and industrially more efficient. We knew that by getting people close to the place where they were to work, getting them in large groups, we multiplied the industrial output of the individual. We knew that by getting people into large cities we were able to extend over a wider surface the so-called conveniences of modern civilization; that people could live in bet-

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ter houses; that they could have better sanitation; that they could have better medical care; that they could have freer access to public libraries and opportunities for culture; that they could have better schools. But we realized that we paid a price for the city, and that price consisted in the tempestuous and heated temptations of city life, and every man who has had any opportunity to study city life has had his mind more or less held in a state of balance between its advantages and its disadvantages.

It used to be said that a family living in a city ran out in three generations, and that it was necessary to replenish the vitality of city-dwelling people by constant drafts upon the unspoiled people of the countryside; and that was, we learned, because of the vices which grew up in cities, and because all of those restraints of neighborhood opinion were gone. A boy in the country was known to everybody of his neighborhood. His misconduct was marked. The boy in the city could be a saint in the first ward where he lived, and a scapegrace in the tenth ward, without anybody in the first ward discovering it. There was an absence of that pressure of neighborhood opinion, that opportunity to cultivate the good opinion of old neighbors, which was evident in the countryside where conduct was more obvious.

Now, for a long time we tried a perfectly wrongheaded process about the city; we tried to pass laws which would cure all these ills and to

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enforce them by policemen. I do not mean that we ought not to have some policemen, but we imagined that our sole salvation lay in the passage of laws and in the employment of policemen. And I can remember when I was mayor of a middle-Western city, that every now and then some movement would get its start to have a curfew law passed in that city, to make everybody go to bed at a particular time. Certain laws of that kind were passed, and some Supreme Courts held that they were unconstitutional, and some held that they were constitutional, but no court had any right to pass on the real fact involved, which was that they were ineffective.

Then the discovery was made that the way to overcome the temptations and vices of a great city was to offer adequate opportunity for wholesome recreation and enjoyment; that if you wanted to get a firebrand out of the hand of a child the way to do it was neither to club the child nor to grab the firebrand, but to offer in exchange for it a stick of candy!

And so there has grown up in America this new attitude, which finds its expression in public playgrounds, in the organization of community amusements, in the inculcation throughout the entire body of young people in the community of substantially the same form of social inducement which the American college in modern times has substituted for the earlier system of social restraints.

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And now that we have these great bodies of young men to consider, we have also the facilities which are necessary to apply to the task. We have organized in the camps themselves agencies to supply athletic opportunities, wholesome recreation. The Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Training Camp Activities Committee, are taking up just as much of the soldier's unoccupied leisure as can be taken up by the inducement process.

And now we come to the other side of it. These boys do not stay in the camp all the time; they move out of camp into the nearby towns. I took a ride some two or three weeks ago along nearly the entire length of Long Island. There were two military camps on Long Island at that time, the so-called "Rainbow Division" and Camp Upton, which is the cantonment in which the drafted men from New York are being trained. Long Island—at least the part I saw of it—is about ninety miles long, and it was dotted throughout that entire ninety miles with men in uniform. Every little village, every hamlet, every small town and large town had soldiers scattered through its streets and its hotels and throughout all the places of entertainment to be found there. The Chief of Staff, who was riding with me, remarked that soldiers always reminded him of ants in the directions in which they traveled. They seemed to scatter from the



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center in every direction, and for wholly unexpected and unanticipated distances.

Now that is what we have to face. The soldiers of these camps, in their days off and their hours off and in their moments of relaxation, are going to scatter through all of the cities and towns nearby. The railroads, the street railroads, and the motor cars will take them to all of those centers of population. Now we must make the advantages in these towns as wholesome, we must make the inducements to wholesome thinking and wholesome living just as fine and as numerous as we can possibly make them.

And in order to do that, we must organize every social activity in these towns. With that thought in view we must have the Y. M. C. A.'s of the towns, the Y. W. C. A.'s, the Masonic orders, the Elks, the Eagles, the churches—particularly the churches with social opportunities, those that have large rooms where they can have gymnasiums or sociables and receptions—even the homes, if they happen to be near enough to a camp to make it possible, we must have all these invite the boys in and give them contact with a normal town life and the domestic opportunity which they are cut off from by reason of their separation from their own homes. I have no doubt there are many examples of exactly that sort of thing going on in this country.

Now, you gentlemen, you men and women, are assembled for the purpose of spreading through-

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out the communities of this country that attitude toward this army, and encouraging in this army that attitude toward the cities of this country. It is a tremendous problem. It has been partially worked out, locally. But as this war goes on we are going to have more and more camps, more and more soldiers, and one set will go and another will come.

These boys are going to France; they are going to face conditions that we do not like to talk about, that we do not like to think about. They are going into an heroic enterprise, and heroic enterprises involve sacrifices. I want them armed; I want them adequately armed and clothed by their Government; but I want them to have invisible armor to take with them. I want them to have an armor made up of a set of social habits replacing those of their homes and communities, a set of social habits and a state of social mind born in the training camps, a new soldier state of mind, so that when they get overseas and are removed from the reach of our comforting and restraining and helpful hand, they will have gotten such a set of habits as will constitute a moral and intellectual armor for their protection overseas.

You are the makers of that armor. General Crozier is going to make the guns; General Sharpe is going to make the clothes; but the invisible suit which you are making, this attitude of mind, this state of consciousness, this *esprit de*

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*corps* which will not tolerate anything unwholesome, this brand of righteousness, if I may speak of it as such, this pride that they ought to have in being American soldiers and representing the highest ethical type of a modern civilization—all this you are manufacturing in your armories, in the basements of churches, the lodge rooms of societies, the dinner tables of private homes, the rooms of Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. There are hospitals, houses, all manner and kinds of places, where the sound consciousness and sound mind of a community can be brought into contact, in a wholesome and inspiring way, with the soldier group in its process of training.

Now when this is all over, by virtue of the work which this committee and this group are doing, and are going to do, our soldiers will come back to us better citizens, not merely for the patriotic heroism in which they have been engaged, but because of this lesson of social values which they will have learned. And in the meantime each city in this country will have gotten, I think, a greater start toward a realization of the community responsibility for the lives of people who live in it, and near it, a higher realization of the value of these experiences which we are putting into operation, and a stronger sense of its own greatness, by what it has done for the stranger within its gates, than it has ever had before.

So that I see in this work, not merely a con-

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tribution to the strength of our Nation, great as that is—and I may say that an army is strong just as its individual components are strong, and a sick soldier, whether physically sick or mentally sick, is a detriment rather than an asset to an army—this work is going to contribute not only to the strength of the army, making it vigorous and sound physically, mentally and morally, but it is going to advance the solution of that vexing and perplexing and troublesome city question which has for so many years hung heavy on the conscience of our country.

And when the war is over, and our boys come back, and our cities have strengthened themselves by their coöperation, and we have throughout the country the common feeling that we all helped and shared the pride of having participated in this great undertaking and achievement, then we will find that for the after-war reconstruction, for this great remedial process as to which none of us knows much, and of which most of us are almost afraid to think, our people are sound and virile and intelligent. We will find that American public opinion has been strengthened and made more wholesome and comprehending, that America is truly a more united people, and that it understands itself better than it ever did in its history.

Everybody in America wants to help. Most people in America want to do some—well, I do not want to say that—but many people in

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America want to do some individual thing. I suppose I am just like everybody else. I would like to go "over the top." I would like to storm a rampart. I would like to grab a flag which was shot down and raise it up and go forward with it, and feel that I had taken Old Glory where it ought to be. That is the heroic appeal, but one of the great difficulties of life is that we fail to realize that the master heroisms of social progress are aggregations of inconspicuous acts of self-sacrifice.

Now this is the opportunity for us to show the master heroism of this age. If you will impress that upon the people of your communities, I think they will respond, and they will feel, not perhaps the spiritual exaltation that comes from carrying the flags, but they will feel that they are really builders in the final and higher civilization, the civilization of justice and opportunity, and of high thinking and high doing which we pray is to be the permanent state of civilized man after this terrible visitation and tragic calamity is safely passed.

## THE CHALLENGE TO AMERICA

*I do not love war; yet there are some things dearer than life. Would we call back the Continental Army; would we send Lafayette back to France; would we take the sword of Washington out of his hands and break it over our knee?*

MASS MEETING, THE HIPPODROME, CLEVELAND,  
OHIO, OCTOBER 17, 1917.

EVERYBODY in this audience will realize my feelings in attempting to make a speech on this lot and under this tent. I look back over nearly twenty years and remember how often this tent has been filled with the people of Cleveland as they discussed among themselves, sometimes in the words of the speaker on the platform, sometimes of the questioner in the audience, but always in a lively way, matters of domestic concern. It has also been used in national campaign discussions. But to-night, I think, is the first time, surely the first time within my knowledge, when the tent has been used by somebody who came from Washington to tell the people of Cleveland something about a war in which our great country is engaged.

It is no small task to turn the attention of the people of the United States away from the op-

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portunities which they have enjoyed and cultivated in peace to the sterner demands of war. I have no doubt that each one of you in your various business occupations has found that this war has somewhat changed the relations which you sustain to other people, and that your business sustains to other people; but in Washington every eye and every ear and every heart is devoted all the time to a task larger beyond any comparison than any task this nation has yet undertaken, and I want to describe to you, if I can, in very brief phrase, something of the size and character and purpose and hope of that task.

When I went away from Cleveland to Washington, you may recall, peace reigned in the United States, though war raged abroad. Washington, a city of very great beauty, was a quiet and reposeful place, and yet the very night that I left Cleveland to go to Washington a disturbance broke out on the Mexican border which required us to summon a military force to patrol that border and protect the lives and property of our people in the States of Texas, Arizona and New Mexico. And for some months we were raising soldiers, the National Guard, and mobilizing our army on that border until, finally, we had an adequate force there to preserve order between the turbulent forces of the Republic of Mexico and ourselves. We had a small army. A small army was enough. Then the Mexican situation seemed to pass away, and our relation to this

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struggle across the water became more and more serious and more and more difficult. We began to be drawn into that struggle. It did not matter what our own motives and desires were; it did not matter that we were following a policy of neutrality and friendship to all the belligerents in that contest; it did not matter that we were a peace-loving people; that we had devoted ourselves for sevenscore years to the building up of a civilization which would do away with the necessity of war and establish among men processes for the working out of international difficulties which would not need war as a means of arbitrament—all that made no difference. Inevitably, as though some powerful magnet were drawing at the very heart and vitals of this country, each day seemed to bring us closer to this terrible thing that was going on on the other side. No man in America wished to go to war. From the President down to the humblest citizen in all this republic our only purpose, our only hope, our only prayer was that we might be permitted to be a strong and powerful friend to all of those belligerents and when the war was over, help to reconstruct and adjust our civilization with a fairer hope and promise for men everywhere. We entertained that view, as you all know, and yet, day by day, the situation became more difficult.

Now, just what was the situation? We found that our rights were being trespassed upon. We



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found that our present adversary—I shall refer to it always as the German Government, and I draw a sharp distinction between any government and its people where that government is an autocracy. If you speak of a government which is a democracy, you include its people, because there the people is the government; but when you refer to a government which is an autocracy, then you draw a sharp line between the government and the people, because the form of government gives the governing function to a few or a class. We found that our present adversary, the German Government, was enlarging the scope of its activities by pressing its lawless conduct upon the shoulders of neutrals, friend and foe alike, and we found that the rights of the United States were being more and more seriously menaced. We still hoped for peace. Our President wrote notes of protest; he wrote notes of pleading protest, many people believed, and up to the very last hour he looked with a deep devotion upon the ideal of peace and the hope that we could remain, as I have said, a peaceful and powerful friend of all these people.

International law is a system of agreements among nations made for the purpose of abating the horrors of warfare, and the progress of civilization consists, so far as nations and their rights are concerned, in constant improvement in international law, and in constant amelioration or betterment of the horrors and rigors of war.

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The progress of mankind is marked by the extent to which nations agree to allow the horrors to be visited upon the combatants alone and to protect the lives and property of innocent and non-combatant members, either of a belligerent country or a neutral country.

When men started out to fight it was the practice of a successful tribe of savages to kill all the men, women and children in the hostile tribe; but after a while that was found to be wrong. The moral sentiments rebelled against that practice, and gradually, step by step, new rules came into existence, and those rules finally, at the outbreak of this European War, made it very plain and very clear—it was written in all the books—that the struggle of war should be limited to the actual armies; that it was fair and in accordance with the laws of war for one army to attempt to disable another army, but a civilian population, not armed and not taking part in the contest, should not be subject to attack, and neutral people, people who were not in the war, were also free from danger and free from peril. The difference between civilized people and savage people consisted in the extent to which people recognized those rules. When we came to apply the established rules of international law to the conduct of the German Government, we found that at the very outset, in order to get a momentary advantage over their surprised and unprepared adversaries, the German Government

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had ordered the German army to march across the frontiers of Luxemburg and Belgium and to invade two peaceful neutral countries which were not involved in the war and had no part or parcel in the dispute.

Now, I shall not undertake to arouse your feelings about what happened in Belgium, and yet I think that this is a fair thing to say: Since the days of savage warfare by wholly untrained and barbarous peoples—nay, since the days of warfare by cannibals—I think there is no parallel to some of the things that were done in some of the cities of Belgium. That little country, once so bright and beautiful, so gay and carefree—for Belgium, you know, was a little France, and Brussels was in Belgium a kind of little Paris—too small to have any aggressive intentions upon any other nation; too civilized to have any sort of ambition to attack anybody else; a little, beautiful nation, made up of a fine and cultured people that gave itself to the arts and crafts and beauties of life and to rich manufactures—that little state of Belgium, apparently so secure from disaster of any kind, and chiefly from the disaster of war, has been converted, by the invasion of the German army, in many of its places, to heaps of smoldering ruins. Not military places only, but the churches that used to be filled with the congregations that went on Sundays to worship, are now simply smoked walls and ruins. The sacred pictures and other beautiful works of art

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that decorated those churches are all defaced, wrecked, as a result of artillery fire. The people of Belgium—and I ask you to remember that they were innocent of offense, just as innocent as you and I—the people of Belgium had placed over them a military government. Thousands of them were taken out and lined up against walls and shot, whole villages, cities, were set on fire; soldiers invaded the houses and drove out, not men with guns in hand, but all the occupants, men, women and children, while other soldiers outside slew them with the sword or with the gun, until of three cities it is true to say that not one soul was left. The destruction reminds us of those stories in ancient history when a savage adversary leveled the city to the ground and sowed the place where it once stood with salt in order to show that no future civilization was to be built there. And these were innocent people! These were people who had done nothing except to live in a country standing, by the accident of fate, between the autocratic government of Germany and its surprise attack upon Paris. Then, after a little while, we heard that men in Belgium were separated from their families and taken into involuntary servitude in Germany, so that of the men who were left alive, the able-bodied ones have been taken away from their families, away from their homes, and their church, and have been carried off in trainloads into the interior of Ger-

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many to work in German munition factories and aid the German army.

Now, I do not complain, I would not complain if the German Government were drafting its own man-power, or drafting the man-power of an adversary whom it had conquered in war, but I am trying to picture to you the character of our adversary's military operations; and, in order to have you clearly understand it, I want you to realize that the Belgian people were wholly without offense; that they have been accused of no offense by anybody, and yet, in spite of that, such was the character of war imposed by the German Government that these slaughters and burnings, these sums of money exacted by way of tribute, these depredations, and this involuntary servitude were visited upon them. But the story is told, and it comes from excellent sources, that so stout is the heart of the Belgian, so patriotic is he, so keenly does he resent the things that have been visited upon him, that, although the German Government has taken away thousands of them in trains and put them into workshops in Germany, it has had to bring them back, starved, to die at home rather than keep them in Germany when they refused to work under an unjust government that had tyrannized in so despotic a fashion over them. Belgium really presents a wonderful picture. It is a story of patriotism that we might well imitate; a patriotism exemplified best in its noble king; exempli-

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fied in its courageous prelate, Cardinal Mercier, who, although held in prison, as it were, by the captors of his country, has never hesitated for a moment to tell his captors of the iniquity of their occupation.

We saw what went on there, and then we saw what went on in Servia; we saw what went on in Poland; we saw great stretches of this world of ours so laid waste that a year ago there was not in many parts of what used to be Poland a single child still living under the age of five years. Babies all gone! The heel of this kind of war—this ruthless war, as it had come to be called—trod upon that land until all the child life was stamped out, and men and women who were able to get away from the advancing power of the conqueror fled to the woods and lived on roots and leaves of trees and herbs, or starved to death, and over Europe now there are places tens of thousands of miles in area and extent where the bleached bones of men lie who in their lives were guilty of no wrong, no aggression, who were not partners in this conflict, who had done nothing to bring it on, and whose very nations were not engaged in the war!

Well, all of that went on, and we watched it with amazement and with horror, and yet we said to ourselves: "We are separated from it all by an ocean three thousand miles wide." The great founder of our country, George Washington, said to us that we must refrain from en-

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tangling alliances. The founders of this republic taught us that our destiny was here and not there; and so there still seemed to be a lack of personal occasion in all this to us. Then we began to consider the aggressions upon our own rights. Is there anybody in this audience who has forgotten how he felt on the day when the *Lusitania* was sunk—the fairest ship in the world, filled with passengers going abroad on their own business, protected by every line of international law? Germany herself afterwards admitted that the destruction of that ship was against and in contravention of the Law of Nations. Not merely international law written by England or France or America, but their own book on international law, written by a German authority, protected the innocent travelers upon that ship. Yet, as she sailed across the sea, carrying this precious freight of men, women and children, she was suddenly and stealthily set upon by a submarine, sunk in an hour, and on the bottom of the sea where so many secrets lie, there lie some things that are not secrets! There are the bones of your fellow-citizens, men, women and children, who lie there, eloquent forever against a nation which, in order to carry out an unrighteous cause, recked not of the lives of the innocent, but is willing to slay and to slaughter in order that it may emerge in bloody triumph to an unholy end.

Not very long ago I heard Consul Frost, who was our consul, as you may remember, at Queens-

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town, describe his duties when the *Lusitania* sank. The word came to his office that the great ship had gone to the bottom and that the work of rescue was on. He went down to the shore and spent days and nights there, caring for such persons as could be rescued, and he formed a corps to watch by the seaside and gather up the bodies of those who were washed ashore. For some four or five days they were kept busy and each wave that came up brought its toll with it, until, finally, there were no morgues, nor hospitals, left in which to put the bodies. And as the Atlantic, which ordinarily carried the peaceful commerce of our country with England kept rolling in, those days and those nights, carrying the bodies of American and English and French dead, all they could do was to take them out and pile them like cord-wood on the dock, until there was a pile of human cord-wood some hundred feet long and nine or ten layers high to show the savagery of that slaying. And yet, what did we say about it? All we said was: "It is not possible that anybody wanted to do that. There must have been some mistake. It must have been some misunderstood order. It is not human." We said to the German Government: "We protest against the sinking of the *Lusitania*. We call your attention to the provisions of international law which prescribe that no merchant ship, no unarmed ship, can be sunk, no matter whom she belongs to, without giving her crew and her pas-



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sengers time and opportunity to escape to a safe place." And the German Government sent us word, "Yes; we recognize that principle," and in solemn phrase Von Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor, under the direction, doubtless, of his imperial master, gave Germany's pledge that it would not repeat that deed, that unarmed ships would not be sunk, unless they either resisted or tried to get away, until the ordinary visitation, search and opportunity of escape to the crew and the passengers had been afforded. That seemed a great victory for us. People everywhere said that the President of the United States had won a diplomatic victory and had rescued for civilization a great domain in international law. Yet how delusive and how deceitful our fancied security was. Six weeks after we got the solemn promise of the German Government on that subject another ship was sunk, and some nine or ten Americans were sunk with it. And then one ship and another was sunk. When the first one went down the German Government sent us word: "Yes; we disavow that act, and we will rebuke the commander of the U-boat who did it"; and yet every now and then another went down. You remember the *Sussex*, the Channel ship, that was sunk in the same way. We protested, and they promised.

And then, finally, in February, 1917, this perfectly incredible thing happened: The German Government sent us word that from then on it

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intended to wage ruthless warfare by U-boats; that it had marked out on the space of the great deep certain areas in which it would not permit any ship to go; that there were certain lanes of the seas into which we could send our ships and they would not attack them, and that we might send one ship a week to England if it followed a prescribed course and was painted like a barber's pole. And the German Chancellor, Von Bethmann-Hollweg, made this statement in the Reichstag: That he had resisted the establishment of ruthless warfare because he did not believe Germany was ready for it, but that he now believed Germany was ready for it, and, therefore, he was in favor of it. In other words, a solemn promise—not a promise to give anything; not a promise that appealed to our greed or our pride, but a promise made in the interest of humanity and of human life, and of the protection of the innocent, and of the observance of law—that promise was given to us, not because it was intended to be kept, but merely in order that the men who intended to slaughter might have time to manufacture and sharpen more instruments of execution. There was only one thing to do—or two, perhaps: We could yield, or we could fight! And in all likelihood yielding would simply postpone the fight. Can anybody imagine what would have happened in this world if Germany, the German Government, had been able to beat the Allies and had at its command the armies of

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Europe and the fleet of England? Just place yourself, now, in the position of the Kaiser. It is an unpleasant invitation. I think he must have dreams at night.

I do not love war. I look forward to the day when war will be a reminiscence of an evil day and of a half-progressed civilization. Surely this earth that yields so bountifully its riches was meant for the children of men to enjoy, as an opportunity of improvement to us, and not a place of a mutual slaughter. I do not enjoy the idea of war, and yet there are some things dearer than life. Our fathers fought from 1776 to 1783 to establish freedom. Would we call back the Continental Army? Would we send Lafayette back to France—and Rochambeau? Would we take Washington's sword out of his hand and break it over our knee, and say: "Don't do that. We would rather live forever slaves to a tyrannous government than have a fight about it?" Would we call back any of the true wars that have been fought for principle and for the establishment of right in this world? No! And tonight, when we are in this war, there isn't a man in America who has inherited any of the spirit of the founders of this government, or caught any of the inspiration of liberty and freedom; there isn't a man who loves his children and wants them to have a chance, who does not believe that this war must be fought to a finish; by that I do not mean fought to an end, but fought to a finish,

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and that finish must be an absolute victory over any power existing in the world that can visit another such catastrophe upon the human race.

God didn't make many cowards when he made America. I don't know where to find any. I have gone from one end of this country to another. I have visited the boys in the camps. I have seen their mothers visiting them, and I have seen those heroic and spartan American mothers looking with pride and love and affection upon their uniformed soldier boys, turning aside now and then to wipe away a tear, but never saying "Turn back." I have seen our manufacturers changed from one occupation to another in order that the great material resources of this country might be mobilized to sustain our boys at the front. I have seen our government at Washington coöperating with the representatives of Labor and of Capital, both of them filled with patriotism, in order that the sweetness of our national life might be preserved and the full mobilization of all of its forces brought about. I have seen consideration given to the lives of women and children in workshops and factories, the hours of labor of men in certain occupations shortened—all to the end that we might build up a strong and virile people here at home while this war is going on to strengthen our boys at the front. And it is highly important that that should be, for, while our boys are making the world abroad safe for

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democracy, we must make at home democracy safe for the world.

They are forming everywhere, a million strong! They are going across the sea to fight your fight and my fight. They are not going over to conquer anybody else's country. They are not going over to impose an indemnity on anybody. They are not going over to slaughter women and children. They are not going over to bring back a long list of captives to put into our workshops and factories. They are going over to rewrite the Declaration of Independence! They are going over to carry into effect the message of freedom which America has already disseminated throughout the world! And they ask us, you and me, to do our share as they do their share. They do not, all of them, perhaps, understand the intricacies of this philosophical conflict. They may not know the details of the atrocities which the German Government has performed or the fearful injuries it has inflicted upon civilization. They may not know what Thomas Jefferson said about Democracy, or what Nietzsche said about Power, but they were born in this country, or have acquired citizenship here, and they have caught the subtle effluvium of patriotism and of freedom. They are going over to enter the mouth of hell! They are going over to go through the gates of death! They are going over where the very worst that science can do for human destruction has been perfected. Long,

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sleepless, watchful nights in the trenches are ahead of them—death ahead of some of them. They are going over to give all they have in order that you and I and those who come after us and men everywhere may live in a land of opportunity and under a reign of justice! Oh, my fellow citizens, suppose a soldier came in here and said to you: "Good people, I have been selected to go off and hazard my life for you. I would like to have a coat, and shoes, and a hat, and a gun; I would like to have a gas mask; I would like to have equipment to make my task as safe as possible." Every one in this audience would empty his pockets and pour all that he had into the hat in order that the soldier might have everything that he needed for his comfort and safety. Women would take their jewels and the men their money to decorate him as a hero.

Instead of coming, he is training at Chillicothe and Montgomery and at all the camps in this country. He is marching by the moonlight and getting ready to fight your fight—and I am coming in his place. Just for a moment I represent him as an advocate to you. I am coming to ask you to clothe him and feed him, to pay his railroad fare, to carry him across the ocean, and to put a gun in his hand. I am asking you to give him a chance to live, to come back to us with victory in his hand—victory for justice and right in the world. And he will do it! When this campaign is over I want the German Emperor to have a

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message from the people of the United States, not written in a bank, nor written in some special select room here and there, but written by the lamp light in the humble homes of the people of the United States, and I want that word to read: "Sir Emperor, we have sent over to you, by special messenger, this message: that the American people are marching a million strong to join your adversaries and to put an end to your unjust warfare. They have come at our bidding to rescue the human race from your aggression, and we are back of them with our hands, with our hearts, with our money. We are piling up mountains of dollars in order that they may use them to get at you and your army until you finally yield the palm to justice and are willing to live in this world, as everybody else ought to live: with a just and due regard to the rights of others and without a willingness to sacrifice the innocent to an unholy ambition."

## THE CALL TO FREE MEN

*We have joined hands with free men everywhere, that we may turn over a new page in the book of history. They will find written with the finger of America the message that unrighteousness shall not prevail.*

TENT MEETING, CLEVELAND, OHIO,  
OCTOBER 17, 1917.

THIS is a strange scene. For a good many years we have met on peaceful missions, seeking in one way or another to secure here an ideal city, and we have discussed in a calm and untroubled atmosphere our domestic problems, without the thought ever crossing our minds that the time might come when this great nation would be involved in war and the populations of our great cities would be assembled to hear discussions of military preparations. Outside of our own war—our Civil War—and the Spanish War, which, while a brilliant exploit of arms in a worthy cause, was relatively a small endeavor, the very genius of our people seems to dedicate our history to peace. And I suppose that if an inquiry had been made of the people of the United States prior to 1914 as to the possibility of a world war, the judgment would have been sub-



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stantially unanimous that, in the progress of civilization, the possibility of world-wide war had been obliterated.

In the space of three years, we have been obliged to reform all our notions on that subject. We have not only seen the great civilized powers of Europe at war with one another, on a scale wholly unprecedented, but we find our own country now drawn into that war, and in some sense one of the principal and most important factors in it. Every now and then I hear people say that even to-day we Americans do not realize that America is at war; and every now and then, though not often, I hear somebody say, "This isn't a popular war." I try to analyze what they mean by that, and my mind goes back to other places and other times. I can see nations assembling their armies amid the plaudits of the crowds; I can see women cheering marching armies and armed nations in frenzy of madness and military spirit. And then I look from that to our people and I say, "No, in that sense, this is not a popular war." God forbid that any war should ever be popular in the United States in that sense. A disordered national imagination, an unrighteous national ambition, a lust for conquest, a craze for blood, a willingness to take by force from other people who would be content if left in peace with justice—that spirit has sometimes made what is called a popular war. The present war, it was declared, was very popular in Germany. I think it is less popular

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now and growing still less popular. We remember the stories when the German Army was mobilized—how in every city flags decorated each house and how women leaned out of windows to throw flowers to the departing German troops and told their heroes to return with the “Mittel Europa” ideal realized. We have no such scenes as that, but as befits a great, civilized and free people, this war has the majesty of a great idea; it has the dignity of a high ideal; it marks the determination of a free people to reestablish justice on an earth which for three years has wept in ashes and in blood.

We must realize that we are at war; we must realize that the very character of our adversary and the aggression which brought on our own participation marks it as a supreme struggle. Let no man imagine for a moment that a feeble effort will suffice. If we are in truth to rescue civilization out of this conflagration, then every nerve and every muscle, every thought, every affection, every impulse, every capacity both in us as individuals and collectively in us as a nation, must be devoted to this undertaking, not only that we may win, but that we may win quickly. For every day that this war continues decreases the wealth of the world by at least \$100,000,000 and many thousand lives. So far these have been not your lives, nor mine, nor those of our sons or brothers, but the lives of fellow human beings, much like us, who are en-

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titled to peace and liberty and opportunity in the world and whose welfare is an essential ingredient, in any wide and popular view, of our own welfare. So, if America can shorten this war by a single day, it is worth the effort that it costs.

Now this task, in order that you may have some notion of its magnitude, I shall describe only by casual reference. When the war broke out the United States had a Regular Army not much larger than the municipal police force of the city of London. It had a trained body of officers. West Point, certainly the finest military school in the world, had been turning out a small contingent of officers and some additions had been made from time to time from civil life. And so we had officers enough for that small army. But when we realized the character of this war, there was a general feeling on the part of the people that, in assembling quickly enough the huge military establishment necessary, there would be a great shortage of officers; and it was doubted whether this military establishment of ours could show the expansion necessary successfully to produce officers and trained men. Now what was the first thing done? Training camps were opened for officers. More than 100,000 young men in this country applied for admission to those training camps. In the space of about two months there was assembled and trained as fine a group of young men as ever donned uniforms on the face

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of this planet. I give you, not my own estimate, but the estimate of the grizzled veterans of the Regular Army—the men who have spent forty and fifty years in the Regular Army. They tell me with one accord that this body of young men who came from our training camps is as fine officer material as any army in the world has ever had. I want to pay this tribute to the American college. The young men who are in those camps were for the most part from our colleges; in no large part young men of wealth; in no large part professional men; but sons of artisans and of workers just as much as sons of professional men. They were a cross-section of American life. But when they put on the uniform and devoted themselves to training, the essence of the athletic spirit—that American desire or demand for fair play—and the results of the universal education which we have spread over America demonstrated their value to us as a nation. We summoned them out of the workshops and the cornfield and the office and almost overnight fashioned them into officers.

Then we began to assemble the army. The Regular Army was doubled in size by volunteers. The National Guard was filled, in some places quite to war strength, by volunteering. Our own State of Ohio increased its contribution of National Guard troops until it stood a full division, so that it ranks third in the United

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States, only three having a full division of the National Guard.

And then the so-called Selective Service Law was passed, and those who little understood the nature of America, those who were victimized by the fear or belief that democracies are necessarily feeble in their institutions and that the interests of the citizens in a democracy are necessarily selfish and individual as contrasted with communal and public—people of that type of mind were fearful when we asked the country to select an army that the country would not receive well this sort of invitation. Yet in the few months that have elapsed, ten million young Americans from 21 to 31 have been enrolled by our own registration boards, by the use of civilians selected out of our own communities. Boards of exemption and review have selected and sent into the camps or cantonments 687,000 choice young men from the body of the country. I want you to realize and take pride in that spectacle! Men used to go through the public streets waving banners with legends on them that excited momentary passions, and, with the stirring music of the fife and drum, young men fell in. But here, as befits a democracy, the grave and serious duty of defending the national interest was apportioned by the selective process, without the beating of a drum and without a murmur of opposition.

Now I tell you what the result is:—In those

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camps, not the volunteer camps, each man is asked: "What do you want to do?" I have had reports from five or six of the largest camps and they show that the majority answered in effect "I don't care what I do just so I get to France among the first!" The next question asked them is: "What branch of the service do you prefer?" Now one who didn't know America would expect them to say: "Well, I have been working in a store;" "I have been a hand on a farm;" "I have been a mechanic;" "I have been a clerk;" "I don't know much about guns and cannon; perhaps the Quartermaster Corps or the Ordnance Department or some one of the non-combatant places is the place where I can render the best service." But what is the fact? Of these sons and brothers, drawn out of life by selection—more than one-third asked to go into the infantry service. The next choice is the light artillery; the next is the heavy artillery service; the next is the aviation service. So that what they asked for in a tremendously predominating majority of instances is, not the non-combatant service for which their previous experience might qualify them, but the *fighting* branches, so that they can take the risk of *fighting for their country with the real weapons of war!* Our nation need have nothing but mounting pride at the spectacle they present.

For this army, amounting to more than a million men, much preparation had to be made. We

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had had a situation which might roughly be described as this:—The Chief of Ordnance or the Quartermaster General went to buy supplies; he took his basket and went to the nearest market place and if he did not get what he wanted in one market he went to another. But when we went into this war, it was realized that there was not in the country enough of many of the most necessary supplies, and the task began of organizing the business industry of this whole nation to do the things necessary to sustain and carry forward this army.

It has required business to be done on a very large scale. I made a speech two months ago in which I was trying to tell the people of New York the size of the operations of the War Department, and I mentioned that before the year was over we would have bought 5,000,000 blankets. That was two months ago. We have already bought 11,000,000 blankets. The War Department appropriation used to be two hundred million or three hundred million dollars, and under exceptional circumstances it sometimes ran up to four hundred millions. Several branches of the War Department now have each three hundred millions to spend; and this is only the beginning.

America occupies this position:—We must not only supply our own army, but we must continue to furnish large supplies to those who are allied with us in this undertaking;

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and in addition to that, the normal process of our life as a nation must go forward in order that we may be strong now and strong in the reconstructing process that will be necessary after this war. Therefore, our effort in Washington has been so to expand industry as to meet our need and so to conserve the health of our people by preventing where we could and discouraging where we could excessive hours of labor as to build a great army and equip it and turn the industries of our country over to our allies in accordance with their needs. At the same time we have tried to keep building up a strong and vigorous people, in order that our army might be properly sustained and that America, when the war is over, shall represent a great reservoir of human strength and high morality to put a fresh stamp on the face of the world.

All of these things require money. They require money in a very large amount. I remember only a few years ago when we talked about a million dollar contract as though there were something scandalous about the work; and now the expenditures of our Government will probably be twenty billion dollars. It means that we must contribute money. It doesn't mean a few people, but it means that everybody must contribute. I want to ask you to remember this:—In twenty thousand homes in Cleveland, there are mothers, fathers, sisters, wives, who have somebody at the front. Some of you may have soldier boys in training.



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But whether you personally have or not, your fellow citizen has! The little boys that played about your doorstep, it seems only yesterday, are now in uniform at Chillicothe or Montgomery, or on the high seas, or have gone across the high seas, to meet a military adversary the worst, in a military sense, the world has ever seen. Their safety will depend upon their having clothes, and food, and protective devices. Can you conceive of sleeping at night if you felt that Johnny who played on your doorstep lacked any one of those things because you hadn't done your duty?

I suppose some day the Adjutant General's office will have a list of people from France, our people, who have given up their lives for this cause. It may be that telegrams will come to Cleveland telling of losses among our people; and our imaginations will fly to the fields of France and we will see upturned faces of boys whom we knew, who have given all for their country—boys it may be who can't even be brought home to rest with their fathers. When the list comes, when our imagination thus dwells upon their heroic sacrifice and upon the splendor of that contribution to the rescue of the world, *don't let any of us have the shrinking and shirking feeling* that if we had done more in the matter of supplying them with protecting devices the story might have been otherwise! This is very real to me. These hundreds of thousands of Americans in a certain sense rest on my

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shoulders by the accidents of official position. I come to you, my fellow citizens of Cleveland, to ask you to help bear that burden.

I suppose that the world would not continue to exist if there were not some doubting Thomases—if there were not some misguided people who criticized some particular fault or another—drumstick orators about broomstick preparation and that sort of thing. But let us pass that over. You can rest in the assurance that America has shown herself worthy in her preparation and our boys are not going to want in the supply of arms and ammunition and protective devices against the artifices of our adversary. They are flowing out in adequate quantity from our workshops. And in addition to that,—and I like more to tell you this than anything else,—there is going to be a better fighting army than we have ever had, a better army than we have ever had in this respect, that from the first day that a soldier was called, it was determined that the environment in which he was trained should be a stimulating and wholesome environment. There are things that soldiers can bring home that are worse than wounds. It was determined that so far as these training camps in this country were concerned they should be wholesome and stimulating and that the young men trained in them should have opportunity to progress and learn. So our camps are filled with boys playing football and baseball and tennis. At the

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last camp I visited I looked under the beds where the boys keep their libraries and I found one boy with a plane and solid geometry, one with Cæsar's Commentaries and others with books of poetry and romance. We are sending into this contest Americans of culture and high ideals—worthy of the cause they are going to defend. And when they come out of it, they will be stimulated and strengthened so far as their minds and bodies are concerned—heroes in the highest sense of the word—having contributed their services to a great ethical cause.

Now let me deal just a minute with the cause. Every man in this country hoped that this might not happen. When this war broke out in Europe, we stood back horrified and aghast. We knew among our neighbors and friends members of each of these nationalities and peoples. We know them now! It seemed inconceivable that aggregated as a nation they should much differ from the individuals we knew. And when philosophers tried to tell us a new spirit had come over the government of the German people, many of us thought of Schiller and Goethe and of the splendid progress of these people in art and civilization, and it was difficult to imagine that theirs was a government which had foregone and forgotten the moralities which ordinarily exist among civilized people. Yet we saw things that brook no other explanation. When Belgium was invaded as a *military necessity*, there seemed

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to be a sort of callous disregard for wrongdoing that certainly excited many of us. And then when the stealthy warfare of the U-boat began! —At first against their armed adversary, that seemed horrible enough. It seemed to lack the boldness which ordinarily characterizes war. Then we saw the U-boat war extended to the unarmed ship and we found in international law that a merchant ship, even of an enemy, may not be attacked without warning until the casual persons, the passengers, are carried in safety from the perils of the sea. And yet in spite of that, we saw a ship like the *Lusitania*, filled with non-combatant people, men, women, children, some of them English, some Americans, who, at the very moment, were friendly people to the German Government—we saw that great ship sent down. And we tried to get away from the horror of that spectacle! I am sure you felt as I did—for months after the *Lusitania* was sunk, as I closed my eyes at night, I could imagine the waves, each of those lines of foam no longer mere foam, but the white shroud of some American woman or child ruthlessly done to death! But Germany had given up all charity and all thought of consequences and was rushing forth with the feet of war bent on conquest and destruction. Our Government protested and the German government said: “No! We don’t intend keeping on doing this,” and made a solemn engagement that passengers would be given

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an opportunity to make a safe escape. Within *six* weeks after that assurance, another ship was sunk under somewhat similar circumstances; and the German government sent us word they disavowed that action and would punish the captain of the U-boat. They teased us and solaced us for our dead with promises which they later confessed were only made to keep us quiet until they had built all the submarines they needed. I do not blame the German people although it seems to me a great tragedy that a part of the German people approved it after it was done. But I blame their mad leaders who seemed to have drunk of human blood until they were insane. I blame German autocracy which sets the law of the Hohenzollern dynasty above the law of God on this earth and is willing to have its own people immoral and the neutral nations of the world subjected to ruthless slaughter in order that it may magnify the pretenses of its emperor king!

And then came the notice that the German government had built enough submarines to feel safe and would march on the open highway of the commerce of mankind and mark out lanes through which we might send a ship or two provided we painted them like barber poles! We could not be assured that even these ships would be safe. We were told that the Master of the Universe and the Partner of God had decreed that certain parts of the ocean could not be traversed by

ships and that if we undertook to continue our commerce the ships would be sunk without warning. We had two courses. We could send the ambassador home and rest with a protest. We could have shrunk and shriveled and said: "So long as you don't pinch us, you can eat everybody else." We could have given up our rights to be a nation. We could have knelt at the foot of the Hohenzollern throne and said: "Thy will, O Lord, is enough for us." *We didn't do it!* We had no intention of doing it! Not because it made so very much difference, perhaps, whether we saved a ship, but because, by this time, it had become clear that this war was not an ordinary war but a conflict of philosophies; because we had to admit autocracy as the only form of government on this earth or else we had to demonstrate that democracy was its master.

I hope my imagination is not too lively; but I like to think of Jefferson and Washington and the men who founded this country as looking down upon the world and thinking that off in a forest they planted a democracy for the betterment of mankind. I like to think of their following the results of its example, until even China shakes itself out of an empire thousands of years old, and Russia shakes off autocracy, and then saying: "These things are really the fruits of our spirit; they are all our children." And if they do see and have followed the course of human events, they must realize that this war

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is a war for freedom, and, unless we saw our way out, our turn would be next. From the invasion of Belgium it was evident that there was a recrudescence of the spirit that led Augustus Cæsar in ancient Rome to try to conquer the world. And now those in America under the Stars and Stripes who learned to lisp almost with their first words the Declaration of Independence have really joined hands with free men everywhere so that, presenting a solid front, we might turn over a new page in the book of history, put there the authority and the sign-manual of democracy on the earth, and by this coöperation of effort strike down forever the false philosophy that subjects the will to dynastic pretenses, and establish on the earth once and for all those lanes of justice and of freedom without which further human progress is impossible.

I have finished. I came not so much to tell *why* the war is being fought nor its nature, but I came to tell you that this is your war and mine; and that those of us who are too old to fight, who can't shoulder a gun and live in a trench or wear a gas-mask, those of us who have not been chosen for such service can still fight our part in this war; and it takes only a stroke of the pen on the application for a bond. We must build here at home dreadnoughts of money and 42-centimeters of finance, and the message they will carry will be one of encouragement to our own soldiers. To those, on the other hand, who have

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brought destruction on the earth; to those who have caused the awful holocaust and loss of blood and treasure; to those at Potsdam who now, in the providence of God, are beginning to tremble, to them the message of this accumulation of treasure by you will be the voice of doom! They will find written on the wall, with the finger of America, the message which means that unrighteousness shall not prevail.



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*The forty years of preparation which the German government went through were forty years of deadening the minds of the German people so that they would not realize the possibility of liberty in the world, so that they would follow without asking questions, so that they would substitute the welfare of the Hohenzollern Dynasty for any considerations of humanity.*

BOSTON CITY CLUB, OCTOBER 25, 1917.

**I**F a man who is called upon to decide something can only see the man to whom he is talking, he is quite likely to go wrong. But if a man has just imagination enough to shut his eyes and see over the head of the man he is talking to and see the persons who, though unrepresented, are still interested, he is not likely to make a mistake, either from lack of courage or for any personal consideration. Hence when a man gets into a public place, like the head of a department in Washington, it is an important thing to remember that the particular persons who happen to be grouped in the relatively small office in which he is situated are only an infinitesimal fraction of all the people who dwell between the Pacific and the Atlantic oceans, and that the real answer to the question always is,—

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and sometimes it is rather painful and difficult,—not, how it will affect the particular individual who is there, but how it is going to affect this great lot of people who, so far as that question is concerned, are just as important as the person to whom he is talking.

Of course this situation is one in which not only public officers in Washington, but men all over this great country of ours, men of all walks of life, and of all intricacies of interest in business and industry, have, so far as they themselves are concerned, ceased to exist as persons. There has been a great amalgamation of the individual personalities of the people of the United States into a composite national unit type. I think it will be said of all the people who are actively engaged in this war that personal interest and self-interest have all been forgotten, party distinction has been unremembered, the old habit of getting and gaining in life has been foregone, and there is a spontaneous and inspiring unanimity of opinion among the people of the United States, whether in public office or out of it, that nothing else matters until this war is won.

I am glad to be here because I think it is highly important that there should be an interchange of opinion among the people of the United States about the great business upon which our nation is engaged. This war differs from every other war in history, both in its size, in its intensity, in its

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characteristics, and in the implements with which it is being fought. The number of men now engaged on the battlefields of Europe is perhaps greater at this moment than the aggregate of all the people who have been on European battlefields in one hundred years before this war began. And not only is that true, but the peoples who are represented are more affected by the war than any peoples have ever been by any war which has taken place since men ceased to slay all of their adversaries, including men, women, and children.

There was, if one may so characterize it, originally a period of barbaric warfare, in which the extermination, root and branch, of the adversary was the aim of a combatant, and after a victory had been won in that age it was customary to gather all of the conquered men and the women and children together, and enslave or kill them, so that the extermination of the adversary would be thoroughgoing. Then, as men began to be civilized and began to have not only some compunctions of humanity, but some realization of the economic interdependence of men upon one another, that mode of warfare was succeeded by what may be called the era of civilized warfare, in which year after year, and war after war, new restraints were put upon the combatants in the interest of the non-combatant population. We began to draw up and set down in books, and recognize and act upon, certain rules of so-

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called civilized warfare. Among those rules were some that have become axiomatic, so that everybody who hears them accepts them at once. For instance, that a non-combatant civilian population, not occupying a fortified place, and not participating in military activity, is immune from attack. Another, appertaining to the sea, has been for many, many years well recognized and lived up to by all civilized nations, that merchant ships, even of an adversary nation, are not subject to be attacked until after they have been halted and searched and their non-combatant passengers given an opportunity to secure a safe retreat. Many rules of that kind have grown up in the era of civilized warfare, with this result that the rigors of war, outside of the actual losses at the battle front and the inevitable griefs at home caused by them during this long period, have been visited almost exclusively upon the combatants.

Now we have suddenly drawn a line and closed the age of civilized warfare, and have gone into a new era of barbarous warfare, in which one belligerent has so far cast aside all of these rules and restrictions of civilized warfare that it has not hesitated to kill, to mutilate, to maim, and to outrage women and children; to bombard defenseless and undefended towns; to drop bombs from the sky upon civilian populations; and to organize a mode of warfare by sea which, if it were individual in its execution, would

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be called a process of assassination, and which consists in an unseen implement, under the surface of the sea, not taking the hazards of war; not willing to play the game, not giving the other fellow a chance; skulking away from any ship which may have the means of defending itself; lurking until it finds an unsuspecting and defenseless victim; and then by stealth doing it to death, without even giving the women on board a chance to say their prayers.

The character of this war has not only become thus barbarous, but its effects are no longer restricted to the combatant population and the civilian population who are intimately connected with those who are thus engaged, but we witness now a coördination of the nations for war which reaches out to the remotest village and hamlet of a country engaged. Take our own case. When we are, ourselves, thoughtless about it, we think of this war as being fought in France. Why, it is being fought in Boston, it is being fought in Cleveland! It is being fought in Seattle, and in Waco, Texas. We think of it as being fought by these army officers and the men in uniform in the other countries. It is being fought by you. It is being fought by your wives. It is being fought in every factory, in every workshop, in every store, in every home, in this country, and by those marvelously subtle processes of modern scientific achievement whereby we are all coördinated,—as Lowell once said, “by

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a common nervous system,"—until we now have an institution where every man's thought, energy, and nervous system are electrically connected through a center, and all made a part of the aggregate economic force to win. So that this war differs in character, in intensity, and in consequences from any other.

I have no doubt many men in this room have read the story of Napoleon's invasion of Russia. I think no greater book has been written in the lifetime of any living man than Tolstoy's "War and Peace." It tells the whole story of war in Russia, the Napoleonic advance, the Napoleonic retreat, the withdrawal of the civilian population in advance of the army; and Tolstoy's purpose was to paint it at its worst—not to be satisfied with the glory, the waving of flags, and the huzzas of victory, but to paint the individual, personal side of war—and so he told of families, of villages, and of cities, and how they were affected. Yet when you compare that tragic experience with what the world has seen in the three years which we now look back upon, it seems like the mimicry of children—it seems like sham battle—as compared with the awful devastation which the human race has suffered in that time.

I need say nothing of Belgium. That is so intimately known to us that we, in our own bodies, it seems to me, have suffered with the Belgians. There was a poetic quality about the invasion

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of Belgium. It seemed as though there was something Greek about it. Here were those people, letting everybody alone and willing to let everybody alone, and asking only that they be let alone; building up a little civilization, an attractive and beautiful partner of the civilization of their French neighbor; with a charming and cultured people in a small and defenseless country; guaranteed as to its integrity by solemn instruments entered into by all of the surrounding nations, by which each of them agreed not only to prevent everybody else from interfering with the integrity of that country, but to refrain themselves from violating it.

We followed the tragic fate of Belgium. We saw its undefended cities leveled to the ground and burned, and we saw houses entered by soldiers to drive out the civilian population, who were lined up in the streets and shot by hundreds, in order—so we were told—that the whole world might take notice of how terrible the German autocracy was when it really got started.

We saw later a large part of the Belgian population deported—a thing that had not happened, so far as my recollection of history goes, since the days of the Roman conquest of the world, when the victims were brought in trailing at the chariot wheels and the conqueror's glory was counted by the number of his captives. Here was a civilian population which had done nothing yet the people were herded into trains and carried

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into Germany, put into workshops and subjected to compulsory labor, judged and condemned to involuntary servitude, for no crime, but merely in furtherance of the central purpose of military aggression and dynastic aggrandizement.

That story is so well known to us that we scarcely need to have it called to our minds. But all over Europe, in every corner of it, death and destruction has laid its heavy hand in a way we scarcely realize. Armies have swept over Poland; the shrinking, feeble, and timid women, gathering their children about them, have withdrawn into the woods and tried to hide from this avalanche of armed men, and in the exodus of a population, fleeing from things worse than death, the little babies have been trampled to death before the advance of the army as it came to take possession. In Armenia a million persons killed—not combatant persons, not men who bared their bosoms to the adversary and said, "It is an even game; shoot me or I will shoot you";—but people sacrificed to the fanatical religious hatred of the Turk by reason of the opportunity presented through world-wide war, with the worst passions of the Turk stirred to emulate the example of his over-lord, the Kaiser, by the example which the German autocracy had set among civilized people.

When I think of pictures like this I wonder how the German Kaiser can sleep at night. How fair the world was in 1914! The marching army



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of democratic effort and belief was going all over the world and adding victories for humanity and mankind to the great territory which it had conquered in its original home here. I was in Europe just before the war broke out; the air was electric with the feeling that a reorganization of the social and domestic relations of men was in progress, that the thing which was started here in Boston—the spirit of liberty and independence and of self-government, and of the dignity of the individual, a message which had been first sent from here—was really being heard over there. Men were getting to be recognized in the world. In places where ancient aristocracies had existed and present royalty and their ancestors had ruled for years and years, we were coming to hear of happy homes, of prosperous and contented people, who had something approaching equality of opportunity, economically and industrially, among their own people. In the midst of that—just when the spirit of the age seemed marching to the redemption of mankind—this war was forced upon the world, upon the flimsiest and most paltry of excuses, because I think nobody can have examined the original cause of this war, the ultimatum to Serbia and its answer, and the things which happened after that, without realizing that the head of the German government willed this war. And so when I think in this vein, after these three years of slaughter, with civilization bear-

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ing vital if not deadly wounds in every part of its body, with the hope of the human race deferred centuries from the advancement that it might otherwise quickly have attained, I wonder how the German Emperor is able to sleep at night.

I recall a picture that must be familiar to many of you, entitled, "The Conqueror," and on a shadow emblematic of a state of war I see riding the majestic figure of a man who while living had been a great conqueror. He is riding along a highway, with his head bowed down; and as you study the impressionistic mist which covers the picture, you can see that the high road over which he goes is made up of the bodies of men who had been slain in order that his military ambition might be satisfied. Along the dim road through which this solitary figure is riding, stand the accusing figures of the victims of his wars, each of them only a spirit, only a reminiscence, but with one accord each of them pointing, as he rides by, to his conqueror. So I wonder just how, when all the flattery and adulation is taken away, and the Kaiser gets into his own room and the supernumeraries who bend the knee are away from him, and he is by himself and realizes that the head and front of his nation has let loose this war on mankind in the world—I wonder how he is able to sleep at night.

Now this war has been brought about. It involves all of this vast coördination and aggrega-

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tion of our national strength. It calls on each of us to do our utmost in order that it may be successfully and speedily brought to an end. I am mightily interested in bringing this war to an end. But I have no reference whatever merely to having it stop.

This war went on for two or three years with these barbarous attributes which I have described to you, with the frankly professed philosophy on the part of the German government that it was going to make itself so terrible that nobody would dare to resist it. We were separated from the scene of the conflict by about three thousand miles of ocean. First there was the *Lusitania*, the master horror of this war—except one. The great tragedy of this war is not the *Lusitania*, but it is the fact that the sinking of the *Lusitania* was approved by the German nation. That is the most tragic fact in modern history.

But we had the *Lusitania*, and then our government protested against it, and the German government sent out solemn diplomatic assurances that that would not be repeated. Those assurances had scarcely reached us before other ships of the same general kind were sunk in much the same way. And each time the German government disavowed the act—sent us word that they had not intended to commit it—that it was unauthorized; and in one instance they said that they had rebuked the commander who had

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made the mistake; giving us all the time, first, the definite and positive assurance that thereafter warfare on the seas would be conducted in accordance with the rules of civilized warfare, and when these constant exceptions were made, reassuring us that they adhered to their original declaration. Finally they notified us, in February, that they had made up their minds to disregard these solemn assurances and promises to us, to make another historical scrap of paper out of a written engagement, to declare ruthless submarine warfare on belligerent and neutral alike, to go about the seas worse than ever the Barbary pirates bent on the indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children, friend and foe alike. They told us in plain terms that they had drawn out on the map of the waters of the deep certain narrow lanes in which we American citizens might sail a limited number of ships—and so far as England is concerned, my recollection is it was two a week that we could send to England—if we sent them in that lane on particular days, and painted according to their directions.

Of course just this alternative presented itself to us. We could either yield—we could either say that we had grown so fat and lazy and money-loving that we had forgotten liberty; or else we could say, “No, all the prosperity, all the success, all the civilization, all the ethical advance of our people, is due to one thing, and that is that we have been free, and we in-

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tend to remain free." And that is what we have said. Now we are dedicated with all of our efforts of every kind, with our lives, our fortunes, to win this war. Why? Because at last we have realized that the forty years of preparation for it in Germany were not forty years of military preparation. It does not take forty years to prepare anybody to do anything in a military sense. And all the things that the Germans had twenty years ago—guns and ammunition, and all of that—are obsolete and worn out; so that their forty years of preparation were not for the accumulation of military stores, but we realize that the forty years of preparation which the German government went through were forty years of deadening the minds of the German people, so that they would not realize the possibility of liberty in the world, so that they would follow without asking questions, so that they would substitute the welfare of the Hohenzollern dynasty for any considerations of humanity that might be addressed to their attention. Now we realize that our adversary, with this spectacular illustration in his own people of the way it blights the human intellect and dwarfs the human conscience, represents the principle of autocracy.

Fate has taken us like children by the hand and led us up to a place where roads divide, and told us to choose. On the one side there is autocracy, a certain kind of mechanical efficiency, a certain absence of spiritual quality, a com-

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pletely selfish and ambitious attitude by a favored class. On the other side there is democracy, with its struggle and its chaos, but its boundless horizon of opportunity for the individual. We are asked to choose. That choice is not hard for us to make. And now that we have made it we are entitled to be cheered by knowing that we are acting worthily upon our choice. The inventive genius of America, a thing which hitherto has been devoted to the improvement of manufacturing processes, has now been diverted to a new and great scientific enterprise and contest. For a few short weeks—an incredibly short number of days—chosen scientists and inventors have been sitting in a room in Washington, and each of them has given up all of his own secrets and his trade formulas and his competitive advantages, and they have pooled issues, until they have made the Liberty engine for our aircraft, which is perhaps the most striking achievement of mechanical ingenuity and perhaps the best indication of our success as an industrial nation that we have had since this war began.

In the same way a standardized motor truck—this is a transportation war—one exceedingly simple in its construction, with interchangeable parts, and easy to operate, so that its usefulness is at a maximum, and one easy of production in quantities, has been devised. On all hands, industrially, inventively, scientifically, mechanically, from the point of view of the laborer,

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from the point of view of the captain of industry, all interests, all capacities, have been laid at the feet of the Federal government as the representative and the administrator for the common good. Our army is already marching, a part of it overseas, joining hands with heroes who have for three years borne the burden and the brunt of this great struggle, presenting now to civilized mankind a spectacle of complete solidarity among the civilized nations and an irresistible rampart thrown out to jam back and prevent the further encroachment of a medieval barbarism upon a modern world.

Already our soldiers are in France in substantial numbers. And already we are training them here in great numbers. Our preparations are made. The material part of our preparation is advancing rapidly, and the spiritual part of it is even more impressive, for in our effort to prepare, we have learned some things about democracy which we did not know. We knew that it was beautiful, but we were not certain that it was strong. We knew that it made for liberty and for freedom, but we were not sure that it had the capacity for self-preservation and protection against this kind of an adversary. And now all of our doubts are gone. We are consolidated as one people. We have one thought. We have abated and abandoned all of our separatist tendencies and differences of opinion. We are Americans now, joining hands with the he-

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roes of France and England, cheering their wearied spirits—if there be a wearied spirit among them—with the news that now the great civilized powers of the world present an unbroken front against this medieval autocratic invader, and that the day is in sight when peace will be written—permanent peace—based upon those standards of justice, equity, and humanity, those rights of man which we in our own national experiment have demonstrated really to be the vital principles of human life.



## THE REPUBLIC AS EMPLOYER

*The privates' uniforms of the United States are not being made in sweatshops; for once, at least, the Government of the United States assumes the character of a model employer in a vital industry. We shall set our faces resolutely against everything which seeks to break down those barriers set up through years of patient labor against the enervation and dissipation of the child-life, and of the woman-life, and of the man-life of the country.*

NATIONAL CONSUMERS' LEAGUE,  
BALTIMORE, NOVEMBER 14, 1917.

WE have a curious form of government, not only in the fact that it is a departure from the political traditions of mankind everywhere, but in that it involves, I think, more than any other government in the world, the co-operation of the volunteer spirit.

People are wont to say in America that whenever a grievance arises it is discussed, an organization is formed, its officers get together and appoint a committee and then it is all over. In a sense that is so. We do multiply committees. We get up societies and associations and leagues until we are sometimes weighted down with the multifariousness of our diverse occupations and interests, and are disposed to ques-

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tion whether or not many of them may not be futile. Yet I make bold to say that if we were to withdraw from the effective government of the United States the voluntary effort which is represented by such associations, our government would scarcely exist at all.

There are governments which take into their keeping all of the interests and all of the life of their people. They make a calendar by which their people live. They have the trusteeship and custodianship of the intellectual and of the spiritual life of their people. They are what might be called, if we were to borrow the language of modern industry, completely integrated governments, and from the cradle to the grave the citizen is merely playing an assigned part in the life of the state, which is higher than the citizen, and for which and for whose glory the citizen exists.

Ours is an entirely different policy, an entirely different theory of government. We are very jealous about institutionalizing our government. We are loath to make laws. I realize that the vast volumes of published laws which come from Congress and the state legislatures every year seem enormous, but most of these laws are to change people's names or do other immaterial things. The actual body of fresh institutional law passed in any one year in the United States is exceedingly small, and fundamental changes are made slowly, with reluctance. We are ex-

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ceedingly loath to take away from the individual or from groups of individuals any part of the powers or rights or privileges or liberties which at one time they enjoyed, no matter how inconsistent they may have become with a more advanced state of our industrial civilization.

For a supplement to this institutionalizing of our life we rely upon voluntary effort, upon leagues and associations and committees and groups. Their function with us is a pioneering function. They take up the slack of our life; between complete autocracy of government and a neglect almost as complete by government of many of the interests of life, the voluntary associations perform their function. They discover the undiscovered country; they keep track of the development of things, and they agitate for remedies; they often supply remedies.

I do not want to pursue the speculative suggestion too far, because it is not necessary to justify the existence of the Consumers' League or of any kindred organization. What we actually do is to go out into the life of America and find those things which are costing us more than we can afford to pay, things which cannot be counted in dollars and cents, which are just over the horizon of the legislature's eye, things which the legislative body has not yet apprehended, as it were. We get those deadly costs and drag them into light and place them within the horizon of the legislature, so that after a while

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what has been discovered by some such society as ours as a neglected social duty, comes to be recognized as an unescapable social obligation.

I cannot stop to illustrate what the Consumers' League has given to the people of the United States, but if you will run over in your minds such organizations as our League, or the Child Labor Committee, or the Civil Service Reform League, and mentally take off the statute books of the country the things which have been put there through such voluntary effort, or take out of our public life and consciousness the recognitions which we have been forced to make through the education which has come from such societies, you will realize, I think, that organizations like these are, in a sense, the forerunners of government. They are an essential part of the American theory of government, of the American government itself; they are as essential as are the more formalized parts of it, which appear in persons who hold public office, or in laws which appear written down in cold words upon the statute books.

The importance of the whole speculation to me is this: Our country is, of course, in the most serious situation it has ever been in our history, serious not alone because we are engaged in a great war. Terrible as wars are and terrible as this war is, we have had trying times in this country before, and have been engaged in wars when the right seemed to hang by a very delicate bal-

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ance; there were many periods of time when it seemed as though the right might perhaps not prevail. We are in a serious condition because this war is the first war in history since modern industrialism came into existence. It is the first war in the world on such a large scale and among highly civilized peoples since transportation became so large a factor in life. It is the first war of any large proportion since the recent and very great advances of science have been made, and, therefore, it is the most deadly war. I do not mean in the actual number of killed, but I mean in the destructive effect upon the human elements engaged in it, it is surely the most deadly war that we have ever had.

It is the first war in which such enormous masses of men have been engaged. On the other side of the ocean the entire man-power of the nations is mobilized, until all fields of life have had men drafted away from them. From all the callings, from the most necessary of all, agriculture, men have been taken and have been converted, for the time being into men of war, and tremendous problems have resulted from this.

Only one or two of these problems can be considered by us at this time. The United States has gone into this war. Inevitably, the taking of a million, or a million and a half, or two million, or any other large number of men out of the industrial and commercial life of our nation is going to make itself felt. There will be fewer men

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in the workshops. There will be fewer men in the professions. There will be fewer men in the colleges, either as students or as teachers. There will be fewer men in agriculture and in many of the industries which we have regarded as vital. As yet, the draft is relatively small; as the war progresses, it is going to be increasingly large, and as the draft increases, the need for an industrial output will grow correspondingly greater.

Those nations with whom we are allied in this conflict are getting further and further away from their former productivity. Their workshops and factories are being filled by boys and women who have learned to perform only one operation of what was originally a craft or a trade. The all-around craftsmen, the journeymen working in industry, are becoming fewer and fewer in those countries, while on the other hand their natural resources are necessarily much diminished and are constantly decreasing. This throws back upon us, as the freshest, most unexhausted and I hope, in a proper sense, the least exhaustible of all the countries arrayed on our side, an increasing burden to feed and supply the world.

Now, unfortunately, machinery has given us one great delusion. People have imagined that when a machine was operated by a steam engine or by an electric motor, the steam engine or the electric motor actually did all the work and the people who were attending it while it operated

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were more or less negligible. As a consequence, we indulged ourselves in the very unfortunate and often fatal belief that unlimited hours of labor were possible because it was the machines which were doing the work. And now with this pressure upon us from all over the world for an increased supply of food and industrial materials of all kinds, the great temptation is to hug that delusion to our hearts and demand of our men, women and children in industry that they give us longer hours of work. We overlook the fact, which we had lately begun to appreciate, that the person who tends the power-driven machine is far more susceptible to exhaustion, is far more open to fatigue and to the poisons that come from over-exertion and affect the system than ever before.

We are likely to overlook that truth. Yet if we do overlook it, we shall have in addition to the terrible cost of the loss of life involved in battle, an equally terrible though far less spectacular cost at home in the devitalized life of the men and women and children in industry upon whom, as a foundation, the whole social, industrial and military structure of the country must rest.

Now, because of our realization of these things the call comes to the Consumers' League—as one of these semi-governmental institutions, as one of these silent partners in the government—that if it ever was busy it shall now redouble its business; that if it ever had a call to point out to

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the American people the drain on life from industrialism and long hours of labor and insanitary housing and the like, that call shall now be raised to the *n*th power. For this is the moment when the imagination of the American people is most likely to fail on that subject. They are most likely to demand goods in increasing quantities and not to stop to ask the cost of them.

We are taking out of industrial life now a million and a half of men. The number of women employed in our industries is being greatly increased. I have no doubt that the inspectors who are charged with the duty of enforcing State child labor laws are having more and more insistent demands from employers that they relax their vigilance in the interest of the national output. I have not the least doubt, as a matter of fact I have some very definite knowledge, that employers who have contracts with the Government or with the Allies, or who make things more or less necessary to the life of the people, are constantly saying to themselves and to State enforcing agencies and to me as Secretary of War and as a member of the Council of National Defense: "This is not the time to worry about those restrictions; this is not the time to enforce these laws about children and women and their hours and condition of labor; too large and momentous events are moving now for anybody to be delayed by these things." That demand is being made everywhere. Now, the duty of the Con-



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sumers' League and of every member of it, and of everybody who knows its philosophy and believes in it, is to set his face resolutely against everything that on any pretext seeks to break down those barriers which we have set up through years of patient labor, against the enervation and dissipation of the child-life and of the woman-life and of the man-life of this country.

While we have sometimes done some things in the way of relaxation I think the Council of National Defense has not done very much in that direction, and it is safe to say that the Government has rather advanced the standards demanded in industry since the war began than relaxed them. I feel perfectly certain as to nine-tenths of the work done for the Federal Government since we went into this war, that the conditions of hours, of pay, of sanitation and supervision under which the work is done, are better than they would have been under circumstances existing prior to our entrance. But I say this not to claim credit. I say it because to that extent the Government has recognized this most solemn of all facts, that it will do us no good whatever to send our sons to France to fight for our political rights if, while they are waging the battle, we surrender our industrial and our social rights here at home.

We are gradually learning, I think, that liberty is of a piece with all of its parts; all of which

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we must acquire if we are to enjoy any one or more of them. I have the right to go to Florida and spend the winter. It does me no good. I have not the time and I have not the money, so that my one-cornered liberty is an ideal possession and is enjoyed only when I have the leisure to indulge in imaginary pleasure. And so it is with political liberties. It does us no good to be able to vote for people; it does us no good to be able to call ourselves free and to describe our land as the land of the free unless we have all the component parts of real freedom. And that means unless we have the political liberty to recast our industrial life so that it will really be a life of opportunity to the humblest person who shares it.

Now, our sons are going to France. When they have finally done the thing which they must do, when they have finally established on the frontiers of France the eternal dominance of free over autocratic institutions, when they have done that, they will come home. When they come back they will see the Statue of Liberty. They will sail into New York harbor proud of their victories, proud of their honors. And when they come I do not want them to find here a dissipated and depressed life. I do not want them to find that they have been trying to gain one corner of freedom while the others have been utterly lost; but I want them to come back to wives and sisters and mothers and brothers and children filled with robust health, people who have

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worked in industry and commerce, people who have produced the goods upon which life depends, people who have filled the workshops and the factories and the fields with labor, done under wholesome conditions. Let them find that, as they were fighting at one end of the frontier and winning one corner of freedom's fields, we at home were enlarging the boundaries of industrial liberty, that we were laying out new boundaries of real freedom here among ourselves, that we were enlarging the lessons we had hitherto learned of the value, the indispensableness of wholesome conditions for people who perform the labor of the world, and establishing conditions which it will be a privilege for them to come back to rather than a grief.

It is the special function of the Consumers' League to continue its work along that line. May I drop my character as President of the League for a moment, in order to thank the League for the help it has already given? I have, as most of you know, borrowed the General Secretary of the Consumers' League. She will tell you, and I have not the slightest objection to its being told, that one particular branch of work about which she happens to know, the privates' uniforms of the Army of the United States, is not being done in sweatshops. Not one of those uniforms is being made in sweatshops! Arrangements have been made for the manufacture of the clothing of the Army, so that it is now substan-

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tially all being made under sanitary conditions, not in the homes of people who have to live in congested places, but under suitable restrictions as to hours of labor and under proper wage scales, so that for once at least the Government of the United States assumes the character of a model employer in a vital industry.

That it was possible to find the enlightenment to bring about this result is one of the glories of the Consumers' League. A victory has been won here at home, one that will not appear in the newspapers as will a victory at arms, but yet a real victory for better conditions.

You have the opportunity as you scatter throughout the various States of this Union to raise your voices against a relaxation of the standards which you have so largely achieved. You have an opportunity to be explicit in teaching and impressing the lesson that we cannot afford, when we are losing boys in France, to lose children in the United States at the same time; that we cannot afford when this nation is suffering a drain upon the life of its young manhood, which is not learning the crafts by which the industrial and agricultural life of the nation is hereafter to be sustained—we cannot afford to have the vitality of women workers of the United States depressed. If the Consumers' League and its affiliated and kindred organizations will take its stand on this platform and preach it constantly, in season and out of season, then truly,

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while some of the direct losses of this war will be irremediable, there will nevertheless be some by-products from it which will count for social gains among us. After the wastage of the war has really come to an end, there will be a solid foundation of ground gained here at home upon which further social advance and reconstruction can proceed.

## PROBLEMS OF THE MELTING POT

*A broken accent does not mean a broken mind or any lack of loyalty, but let us not hesitate a second when we find a man eating our bread and drinking of the milk of plenty who is disloyal!*

ANNUAL CONVENTION OF POLICE CHIEFS,  
WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 4, 1917.

HERE is assembled one of the most important bodies of men in America. I say that, in spite of the fact that I am a member of it. I trust your memories are not so short nor your records so ill kept as to fail to disclose the fact that years ago I was elected a member of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and that I have since carried the card of the association in my pocket. I remember there was some little controversy in our association on the question of whether an election to honorary membership lasted more than a single year. I don't know how that trouble was settled. But always, when I go to a strange place, I carry my card so that if by any chance I shall be mistaken for some man with other than honorable intentions, I will be able to impress upon any of your subordinates the fact that I am to be treated with

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proper consideration and to have all favors shown.

As a matter of fact, I have had a great many years of intimate association with policemen and police commissioners. For nine or ten years as City Solicitor of Cleveland, I was the police prosecutor. Chief Koehler used to say that it was his business to arrest men and mine to convict a few of those he arrested, and Cooley's job—Dr. Cooley was the Director of Public Welfare—to parole all I convicted. Later, when I came to be Mayor of Cleveland, I had the rare privilege of constant association with a man whose name ought to be in some way permanently enrolled in the records of this association as one of the really great police chiefs that this country has had—I mean W. S. Rowe, present Police Chief of Cleveland. Most of you must know Chief Rowe. In all the years I knew him, it was his mind that was doing the organizing and the solid, steady work upon which the construction of a police force must depend for its soundness and stability. When he came to be chief of the department, his work was characterized by a sense of justice and a plain, homely common sense, which made his administration an outstanding one and which contributed very greatly, so far as Cleveland was concerned, to placing the business of a policeman upon a very high plane in the public respect of the community. I saw in the papers some days ago that Chief Rowe had decided to resign. If

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that is true, it ends, I think, forty-two or forty-three years of continuous service, and while I have no present recollection of what the record books should show, I am confident that an examination of that record from the first day he went in as a patrolman would not show a single justifiable criticism upon his career.

So you see I have had some contact with policemen. I am having a very much valued contact with policemen now. The War Department is interested in the training of a great army. The country is in a situation where the possibility of trouble exists in many of our cities in various parts of the country. We are dealing with an era in the enforcement of police regulations and the preservation of peace and order in our communities, which is accompanied by peculiar difficulties and embarrassments. The War Department is called upon in many instances to coöperate in the task. On Sunday last, happening to be in the city of Columbia, South Carolina, I saw a military patrol on the streets—soldiers doing the work of policemen,—limiting their activities of course to soldiers who were in the town, but walking arm in arm and hand in hand, both in fact and in theory, with the civilian policemen, who were looking after their own work. I was delighted to find that this military police force, established to care for the soldier part of the new population of the city, was fitting in harmoniously and that the soldiers respected the po-



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lice and the police respected the soldiers. Apparently a clear understanding has been brought about between the military and civilian policemen by which coöperation is everywhere achieved and harmonious work is being done.

But our activities go further than that; in order that this army shall be made a strong and vigorous army, the military camps must permit no opportunity for unruly and lawless persons to come into the neighborhood and practice their wiles and vices. The Congress of the United States, acting through the War Department and granting to it very wide powers, has made it very evident that it is the will of the people that the environment of our training camps shall be kept clean and wholesome. The Department of Justice is working to the same end, and so are other agencies, both governmental and unofficial.

In the last analysis, however, the situation in any community rests primarily on the people who live there, and their representatives of law and order. The War Department is looking to the Chiefs of Police of the United States to co-operate with it in carrying out the purposes of Congress and the purposes of the Government in creating an Army which will not only be able to win victory on the battlefield but will be truly representative of the best civilian standards of the United States.

Therefore I started out with the statement that this is one of the bodies of men in America which

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at this moment I believe to be among the most important. Our country is at war! We have just started in that war and in all human likelihood our energies and activities will be more and more fully engaged in it. It will be necessary for us to send larger and larger bodies of troops. We can, if we choose to, send over men with balance and training, men who know how to command, and citizens who know how to live in those foreign countries and who will win two kinds of victories when they go over there—one over their enemies and one over themselves. They will bring back two kinds of laurels—the laurels that successful soldiers bring back in the accomplishment of the purposes of their nation when the treaties come to be written—the other kind of laurel, the respect and affection of the civil population with whom they have lived, who in after years will think with affection of the men of this nation. I take very great joy from the fact that General Pershing was in Mexico for many months—the greater part of that time at one place—and when he came out of Mexico, he was accompanied by a very large part or all of the civil population of the surrounding country. Our troops were there not as conquerors; they were there just as men, having the military object of protecting our own frontier, and not practicing cruelty upon the civil population among whom they were situated, and they gave peace and quiet and confidence and industry and opportunity to those people such as

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they had never had before. General Pershing and his troops came back to the United States out of Mexico with a great train of Mexican farmers, merchants and small people among whom they had lived, who came out with them because they preferred civilization as represented by General Pershing's army, to the lawless conditions which had obtained in their own country for a long period of time. When our Army comes back from France, I don't want it to win the French people away from their own soil and bring them along, unless they want to come. I don't imagine, knowing the tenderness of a Frenchman for his own vines and pastures and gardens, that this will be one of the products of victory in this war; I can't imagine that many French people will come back with our soldiers. But I want our soldiers to bring the hearts of the French people with them, I want them to bring back their respect, and the only way they can do that is by instilling into them such principles as high-minded men should have, so that they may have respect for the rights of others, and by so training their minds to honor and justice before they go over, that the French people will recognize in them the highest type of citizenship.

You gentlemen, in that case, will have to help. The Chiefs of Police and the policemen of the cities in the neighborhood of these camps are representatives of law and order. A harsh and intolerant attitude towards the soldier, an un-

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intelligent attitude, will be provocative of resentment, while a kindly and sympathetic attitude towards him will inoculate him with high-minded ideals of law and order. In addition to what he gets from the War Department in the nature of military training I want him to get from the cities in which he lives the idea of citizenship, and I shall be perfectly content to have these young soldiers of ours acquire their idea of duty and of justice from you, if you will make it manifest to them what your own ideas on those subjects are.

You have one other duty in this critical time. We are already at war with Germany, and the President to-day has asked Congress to declare war on Austria-Hungary. There are numbers of people in the United States who were born in Germany and in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. There are many people whose ancestors came from one or the other of those countries. Many of those people came to this country because they were dissatisfied with their institutions, dissatisfied with the opportunities which those countries afforded them—many of those people who have come here have been rebaptized with the American spirit. They have married this country for better or for worse, and they are citizens of this country. There are some of them who think they were married to this country, who have been suddenly and rudely divorced. There are some men who made a mock marriage of it. I am persuaded that there are

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not many such, but with the growth in intensity of our efforts in this war, there has developed a feeling that the activities of such disloyal people as there may be must be suppressed by you. Therefore it is part of your opportunity in this hour of universal service to our country and its ideals, it is part of your opportunity to search out disloyalty and to prevent the sapping of the strength of our nation here at home, to restrain any seditious activities on the part of those who have enjoyed the protection of American institutions and have nothing to give in return but the undermining of its liberties and its strength. That is a great opportunity for you, and it is an especially difficult opportunity because it calls upon you to discriminate with wisdom and patience between those who are disloyal and those who merely have ties of blood and tradition with one of these countries, but who really and in spirit are Americans. You and I are both too wise and we have had too much experience in this country to imagine that a broken accent means a broken mind, or that a non-American name, or the inability to speak readily our language means any lack of loyalty in the man or in his make-up. So I say it ought to be your effort, as it ought to be the effort of all right-thinking people in this country, to learn to apply the principles of justice and fair dealing that have protected the oppressed of the world for more than one hundred years, and to prevent all those injustices that come

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from haste, ignorance and suspicion. But never let us hesitate a second when we find a man living here, eating of our bread and drinking of the milk of plenty, when we find that man disloyal! The man who strikes us in the back, who undertakes to sap our strength through fire or otherwise, let us see that he is rendered harmless to accomplish any such purpose against the Government and our people. I doubt whether any group of people in this country has a more deliberate responsibility than you have. It covers the whole continent of America in its scope. It is part of your daily duty; it is a matter of having an opportunity and these unusual circumstances and the conduct of this war will depend to a very large degree upon the wisdom and patience, fair-mindedness and vigor with which you exercise the functions that are entrusted to you.

In the training of our army those things must be separated out that make up that part of the town which collects the worst kinds of young men—there must be a separation of those things from a training camp in order that our soldiers may be well in body and well in mind and spirit. Napoleon said that in war, morale is to force as three to one. Everybody in this room, everybody in this nation, wants us to win this war. Now we want to win it with our strength and our strength is a basis of four parts; one of them is our force, according to Napoleon, the other three are our morale, according to Napo-

## PROBLEMS OF THE MELTING POT

leon. You gentlemen are in part the manufacturers of morale of the nation. You are, therefore, contributors to the manufacture of three-fourths of the aggregate of the nation's natural strength with which we go into this enterprise.

I hope that everybody in this room will read the President's message to Congress to-day unless he has already read it. Every now and then somebody says that he does not know what this war is about—he does not know why the United States is in it—he does not know what we want to get out of it. Of course the fact is that we don't want to get anything out of it; we want to do something. The President, as our leader, has hitched his wagon to a star and leads not only America but the people of the world. This is what it means for the greatest nation in the world to enter into this conflict. We want to establish justice among men and equal opportunity among men. We want to establish the same sort of respect for law and order among the nations that you gentlemen have spent your lives trying to establish among the civilian population of the cities of this country. Just consider the things that you are trying to enforce day by day—justice and respect for the rights of others, consideration and sympathy. I know the policeman far better than to imagine that the club which he carries is anything more than the symbol of his function. Occasions arise in the life of the community when the club must be used, but they are

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rare and exceptional. In the world at large and at the present moment, we have the spectacle of a member of the family of nations corresponding in this larger sphere to the disturber of the city streets, and he must be dealt with in the same way as a disturber. Our mission in this war like your mission in the cities in which you live is to attempt to establish a definite atmosphere of just conditions among men.



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*I know how the Channel looks by night. I have seen those waves when the moon was shining on them, and I have thought, "Surely, this is the golden path that leads to the Favored Isles." I have seen the moon shining down on the chalk cliffs and have thought the foam-flecked waves a wonderful sight. But when I think of those chalk cliffs and those moon-lit waves now, I see only the white shrouds of countless women and children who have gone down with the sea for their grave and the white cliffs for their monument.*

STATE COUNCIL OF DEFENSE, RICHMOND,  
DECEMBER 5, 1917.

HAPPY is the nation which in the midst of a great war can return from the examination of its conscience with a smile. After sevenscore years devoted to the arts of peace and industry; after having spent money and men in experiments in free institutions, and after devoting itself to the culture of intellect and morality, at last this great nation finds itself no longer able to abstain from foreign complications, but actually plunged into the heart of a great war. When it proceeds to take stock of its conscience and to ask itself whether its cause is just, it comes back from that examination with a spring in its step, its head erect, conscious that it did all it could to preserve

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peace among men and that when it took up arms, it took them up in defense of priceless principles, more valuable than life itself.

I have sometimes sought to ask myself when this war began, and I find that each answer I give has ancestors, and I have to inquire as to the biography of those ancestors; and when occasionally I think I am at a resting place, I discover another set of ancestors for this war.

I shall not undertake any lengthy examination of history to-night, but I ask your attention at the outset to that Frederick, who was called Great, and whose most spectacular achievement, upon reaching his throne, was to set upon Austria and rip from her a splendid ancestral domain, apparently for no reason except that he needed it, and having no justification, except that Marie Theresa was young and beautiful, which did not matter; and helpless, which did not matter; and a woman, which did not matter. His next illustrious experiment was the partition of Poland. With a cynicism which I think has not been equalled in recent history, and has no parallel among his contemporaries, he scoffed at the idea that kings and dynasties were limited or bound by moral considerations, or indeed by any consideration, except force and success. And that same Frederick, who was called Great, and whose principles are those upon which the reigning house of Prussia has built its subsequent conduct, is the greatest Hohenzollern of them all. And so,

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when we think of this war and try to trace it back to its ancestors, I think we can, without injustice and with due regard to historical verities, say that this war had its birth in the prominence which was given by Frederick the Great to certain immoral doctrines affecting the conduct of states and governments.

These immoral doctrines are that a state is not bound by the laws of honor; that treaties made by it are merely covenants of convenience and that they may be torn up into scraps of paper at the will of whichever of the signers is able with his strength to cover his dishonor. The second principle is that no consideration of humanity shall stand in the way of the success of a military enterprise. These doctrines are hateful and contemptible to us. The man who by virtue of his physical strength and brute force imposes his will upon his neighbors is deserving the contempt of the people among whom he lives; and a man who by his physical force imposes it upon the weakness and defenselessness of children is a bully and coward.

Now, time was when that was not true of nations. But it has become true of nations and the difficulty with the German Emperor and the cause of this war lies in the fact that the government of Germany imagines that civilization consists of universities, learned doctors, the transformation of chemicals into deadly compounds and physical elements into new substances of manufacture,

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without reference to spiritual values and moral growth.

When the present reigning house began its most recent career of conquest, its first victim was the kingdom of Denmark, from which it took Schleswig-Holstein. In order to make a certain concession to the good opinion of the world, which they were still small enough to desire, they made a treaty with Denmark by which at some time within ten years after the conclusion of the war the people of the conquered territories were to vote as to whether they desired to be detached from Denmark and attached to Prussia. When the ten years were nearly over and there had been no vote, certain delegates came to see the Iron Chancellor about the right to vote on the question, reminding him of the provisions of that treaty. He got out the treaty, tore it into scraps and handed it to them, saying: "That is my answer." After the close of the war between Prussia and Austria and just before the Franco-Prussian war, the then King of Prussia planned that certain territory should be violently detached from Austria and annexed to Prussia. When remonstrated with concerning this decree the King said, "All my ancestors have added to their dominions by conquest, and I must add to mine by conquest."

Bismarck, for reasons which he explained, opposed this plan—not because it was not honest, but because he did not think it was wise; and so

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at that particular moment nothing was done. When the Franco-Prussian war came and the Prussian army swarmed down into Alsace and Lorraine the same principle of warfare prevailed, without the slightest observance of the laws of humanity. The German army surrounded Strasburg and turned their guns, not on the forts, but on the spires of the cathedral. The first victims were some school children, who were studying their lessons in a school building in the quietest part of the city, which was struck by the heaviest artillery fires.

Now, that was not because the German people are cruel by nature. I must relate to you a story which was told me by a man who was in Belgium when the Germans invaded that country. I do not, of course, know that the story is true. He said he met a German soldier who carried in his hand a bird-cage, in which he had a live canary, and this soldier told him of the slaughter of hundreds of women and children in the invaded town, of burned homes and bombarded churches, but seemed to imagine his rescue of the canary signified his humanity. Now, it was a humane sentiment which made him rescue the bird, but it was the following of a hellish principle which made the German regard as justifiable the burning of houses, of religious institutions, and the slaughtering of women and children for the purpose of terrifying the inhabitants of the city. Therefore, it is not that a German citizen is not a good man,

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but from the time of that Frederick, who was called Great, down to now, a misguided and misbegotten philosophy, that might is right, that the leadership of the imperial Hohenzollern is righteous, has permeated and poisoned the thought of the German nation.

And so, when this war broke out, almost the first movements of Germany were true to form. They were what any informed student of history would have had reason to expect. She brought her ships off the coast of England, not by its forts, where its ships of war were, but along its undefended coast, its peaceful seaside villages, its little summer resorts. They stood fourteen or fifteen miles out to sea and under cover of darkness bombarded sleeping towns, killing defenseless women and children. When the great Zepelin raids began to come over England there was no attempt made to attack fortified places. Their whole object was to use frightfulness as a means of driving the people of England into submission.

Now, one of the greatest surprises to the German government, but which doesn't surprise any other people in the world, is this—that you can't scare Englishmen into subjection by killing babies. Nobody knows what is in store for us in this war. We are in it until we win it. It is just as well to have some understanding at the beginning and Germany should learn now that if, with the help of the devil, she is able to find some way to cross the three thousand miles of ocean that

separate us and to make a secret and stealthy warfare upon the women and babies of this country, she will not scare our men either.

The same policies were pursued with the submarines. We built some submarines in this country. I think we built the first—I am not sure of that—but we built them as implements of war, to attack warships. Nobody ever dreamed of such use as they have been put to. But when this war had been going on a while Germany began to use them against undefended merchantmen, and while she was proclaiming that one of her objects in this war was freedom of the seas, she was really trying to rid the seas of commerce. She attacked that kind of commerce which, under every doctrine and canon of international law, should have been immune from attack. The submarine became a weapon of assassination. What is an assassin? He is a man who's afraid to fight; a man who will not take the risks of a test; a man who will not come into the open, but who selects a dark night when you are going to a place where you expect, where you have every right to expect, to be peaceful and safe; who puts a mask over his face and, stealing up behind, stabs you in the back. Does not every bit of that definition apply to the method by which Germany undertook to rid the seas of neutral vessels?

Germany began to use her submarines against peaceful commerce with an idea of driving a strong competitor, although an honorable com-

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petitor, from the seas. She used this weapon upon the commerce of a peaceful nation, a nation with which she had no quarrel; a nation which had welcomed her children and made them her citizens; a nation which had opened her wonderful opportunities for education, peace and happiness to the children of Germany.

America has been a generous and friendly rival for the industry and commerce of the world—a legitimate ambition, in which she struck great and ringing blows—but a country which, so far as Germany was concerned, never had action or thought of hostility, yet Germany unleashed these things, and sent them out to destroy our commerce.

She sank the *Lusitania*—not our vessel but partly filled with our people. I saw a picture shortly after the sinking of the *Lusitania*. It was the picture of the wife of an American citizen and her family which had been lost on that ship. I suppose there were many other like cases, but this particular picture somehow has burned itself into my memory. I have forgotten her name—I wish I could forget her history—but she was a beautiful woman, simply dressed; by her side were two fine boys and two little girls and in her lap a baby, smiling. All the affection of that family was centered in that baby but the legend under that picture was that all of them—mother, sons, daughters and baby—were victims in the *Lusitania*! They were not your babies,



thank God! not mine, thank God! but American babies and an American mother. Now somewhere at the bottom of the deep, they have an unknown, unmarked grave because they took passage on the *Lusitania*, a vessel protected by every canon of international law against that sort of attack or any sort of attack that did not give the people a chance to escape.

I know how the Channel (now the grave of so many ships) looks by night. I have been to England many times before the war. I have seen those waves when the moon was shining on them and I have thought "surely this is the golden path that leads to the Favored Isles." I have seen the moon shining down on the chalk cliffs, and have thought the foam-flecked waves a wonderful sight. But when I think of those chalk cliffs and those moonlit waves now, typifying for me the English Channel through its length from Ireland to Holland, I can see only the white shrouds of that woman and those lovely children, of countless women and children, who went down with the *Lusitania* that night, with the sea for their grave and the white cliffs for their monument.

After that sinking the United States served notice on Germany that she was violating the laws of nations; that she was imperiling our rights to be upon the high seas; and the German government half-heartedly disclaimed the sinking of the *Lusitania* and gave a solemn promise that she

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would not make an attack upon neutral commerce except in accordance with recognized rights and with opportunity for safe escape by the people on board. For some months our people said "America has won a diplomatic victory," and we said of our great President "How splendid his quiet spirit and his patient waiting!"

Then some more ships were sunk in the same way and the German government served notice on us and sent us a map, marking out certain portions of the high seas which we might travel; certain very indefinite lines, certain unused, tortuous channels, long routes, which we might use with safety, provided we painted our ships in a prescribed fashion and did not send more than two a week. Then this extraordinary thing took place. The German Chancellor, the nearest approach to a responsible official that there is in that irresponsible country—he is responsible to the Emperor, and the Emperor is not responsible to anybody—the Chancellor rose in the Reichstag and said he had opposed unlimited submarine warfare when it had been first suggested, not because he was too good, not because it was wrong, but because he did not think that they had submarines enough to carry it out. And he said, "Now that we have built more submarines I am in favor of it." In other words, a miserable tricky sort of diplomacy was all there was to his former promises. I am not sorry he imposed upon us. I am glad we had enough faith left in

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the honor of nations to believe his falsehoods.

We had a choice then; by that time the game was perfectly clear. It was the intention of the Hohenzollern family to throw a shadow across Europe, beginning at the North Sea and extending to the middle of Asia as a start. Their intention to destroy France was clear; their purpose to destroy England was clear and the German Emperor did not hesitate to say to certain Americans, prominent Americans, "When I am through with the rest of these fellows, America had better look out." So, we had a choice to make. We could either cower and crawl to the feet of the Hohenzollerns and say, "O Mightiness, your frightfulness has terrified me! Your power is too powerful! I submit and become your subject State. I accept your form of Kultur,"—or we could fight. We chose to fight.

Sometimes I hear men say that there were people—nobody ever told me that he himself believed it—but I have heard men say that they believed that there were people who believed that we were fighting this war to help somebody else, England or France. Suppose we were. We are not; but suppose we were. I do not know how it is with you, but I have a limitless admiration for the British and French people. I am not very sure that I would not be perfectly willing to fight for them and them only. But what America is actually fighting for is not England or France; we

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are fighting for what they are fighting for, and that is liberty.

So far as the United States is concerned, we are exceedingly fortunate in this war that we are not the only people in the world who love liberty. If the Hohenzollern family had made up its mind to change the order of its conquests and to take us first and to finish up the rest when they had finished us—well, our contest would have been no different in the end, but very different in the middle.

And so, my fellow citizens of Richmond, our country is in this war because of the unfathomable hostility between autocracy and democracy; because of the inevitable conflict between irresponsible and immoral government and responsible and moral government; and because when our fathers left us this land of liberty, they did not mean that the seed should run out with you and me, but they meant that our children and our children's children should inherit the estate.

Now, there are a few people in this country who are said to be doubtful; there are larger numbers, I am told, who are indifferent; but the real state of mind of this country is one of patriotism and unanimity and I know it by every token by which man may judge. Not very long ago a colonel came into my office and said, "Mr. Secretary, I am obliged to come and see you. I simply had to come and tell you what I have seen. I have just come from the State of Washington with a train

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full of soldiers and our whole journey was one triumphal progress. At every stop the train made, the people flocked to welcome us, to cheer us, bringing bands to play for us. And so we came from the other end of the country, from the far Pacific to the Atlantic."

But sometimes evidences of enthusiasm like this may be thought temporary. I have sat in Washington now since the war began, day by day, night by night, month by month. A large part of my task is to receive letters and persons, presenting this message and this thought: "Here I am, here is my bank, here is my factory; here is my farm; here are my resources, here is everything I have. How can the Government use them and me best in this emergency?" And that has come from every part of the country. There was a great howl when the selective draft went into effect. Men came into my office and said, "The streets of this country will run with blood on the day of the draft." But they did not. Nowhere were there evidences that the youth of the country meant to do anything but prove themselves law-abiding citizens. The selective draft is the right thing. It is the modern thing. The old-fashioned mode of warfare called for old-fashioned means of enlistment; but this is a new-fashioned warfare and we must use modern means. We must do that thing which most speedily and efficiently mobilizes the forces of the country, and all the forces.

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The trouble is that we have been thinking in terms of ounces and pounds, pints and quarts, dollars and cents. And so when we came to make an army the first impulse was to make it along old lines, forgetting that we were not fighting an old kind of warfare, but a new warfare. The selective draft has itself killed most of the opposition that was first evinced toward it. It is the best mode of gathering the necessary men, the fit men, and the mode that imposes the least burden on all the people and all the States. The people see that now. We were told that the people would not see it because the people were not logical; but the people are logical and the people do see that the selective service is the logical service.

The reason some people did not like the idea at first was because they feared it might be unfair and unequal; but when it was discovered that Congress intended an accurate and just operation of the law and that it should work to the universal good of the whole people, we saw a different spirit and it has been accepted as the correct measure.

When we began to assemble our Army, how wonderful our people showed themselves! For the last thirty or forty years we have been growing in grace in the manner of our civilization, and the democracy of our institutions. We have been building playgrounds, public parks, and other institutions for the people of the cities and have been striving in every way to enrich the com-

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mon life of America, and so when the time came to build an army there was a demand that we build a civilized army. Now in these great army camps we are gathering the manhood of our country. We are not only providing for them modern camps, furnishing them warm clothing, good food, and civilized and legitimate instruments of war, but the camps are placing every facility of civilization at the disposal of the men in training and what has actually been done proves that the smokestacks and the church steeples are blending their services for the good of our Army.

I have already spoken much longer than I intended. I began with the reflection that it was well for a nation, in the midst of a great war, if it could return from an examination of its conscience with a smile. It is so with the United States. Our ancestors left us a wonderful inheritance. To them it seemed such an inheritance as would always be safe, if we restrained our activities between two oceans. Under the influence of time, this inheritance has indoctrinated the world and democracy is on the rising tide everywhere.

It is well with us because our cause being just, our resources inexhaustible, our courage unfathomable, our civilization not external, but essential,—because all these things are true, it is well with us in this pivotal moment in the history of the human race that we are sending our Army

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over to be knightly victors on the other side, and that we are joining the forces of the British and French in the greatest contest that ever engaged the energies of man.



## THE EMBATTLED DEMOCRACY

*Off in the far-flung corners of the globe the same sort of progress is being made; lately has come the romantic and poetic news that Jerusalem is in the hands of Allenby, and the children of civilization that sprang from that country are now in possession of their holy places and can walk untroubled by Saracen and Moham-medan as Richard Cœur de Lion wanted to walk in what was the promised land in years gone by.*

NEW YORK SOUTHERN SOCIETY,  
DECEMBER 12, 1917.

**I** THINK there has been no time in the history of this Society when I would more esteem the privilege and pleasure of addressing it than now. The year 1917 is writing a new date line in our history. It will take none of the glory from any of our memories, it will leave us as a priceless inheritance the great traditions of our race, out of which our institutions and our liberties have been fabricated; but from this year many things which are separated in a sense will be all written under a new date, and the supremacy of common sacrifices in a common cause will make us more really a united people, more really a nation, than we have ever been in our entire history.

People love one another, people understand one another better from having suffered together in

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the same cause. I remember a story that used to impress my young imagination, of Dr. Kane, the great Arctic explorer. He was walking down a street of London late in his life, and, coming up the street in the other direction, he met a man whom he had not seen for many years, but who had shared with him the hardships of one of those long, dark winters in the Arctic. Utterly changed the two men were, by age and years, and yet they stopped, there was a flash of recognition, and then, without a word, they rushed into one another's arms, and at the end of a long embrace one of them said, "Oh, it was so dark there for so long!" The memory of their common suffering, of their common enthusiasm, indomitable courage in the pursuit of a great idea, of their association in a heroic enterprise, made a bond which neither years nor intervening interests could eradicate nor diminish.

And so, after 1917 the North and the South, the East and the West, peoples of all extractions and of all lineages and ancestries, will have a new feeling when they pronounce themselves Americans. The family of the nation has become continental. Many of these distinctions which once troubled us will be absorbed in the new glory of citizenship in the new nation.

And this will be especially true because of the heroic character and the idealism of this enterprise. Every now and then somebody tells me that he has heard somebody say that America is

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fighting somebody's else war, and my instant reflection is, well, suppose that were true? Is it not more heroic to save somebody's else life than your own? To whom do we build monuments, for whom do we cast heroes' medals—for the men who save their own lives or those who save the lives of others? What is the quality of heroism if it be not unselfish self-sacrifice?

And yet it is not necessary, nay, it would not be true, to say that this is an unselfish expedition in that sense or to that extent, for in very truth our nation is engaged in fighting its own battles, its own material battles—if that matters, but it does not. It is engaged in fighting its own spiritual battle; it is engaged in saving the soul of democracy.

Truly all wars which have been waged for the prestige of kings or the territorial extension of empires fail of justification. There is a quality in this war which evokes a spiritual response, and that will be a new kind of cement for the making of a stronger and more triumphant people when it is over.

And there is another exceedingly happy quality in this war, that we are not fighting alone. I am not even ambitious that the glory of the final conquest should come to us alone. I would far rather have the triumph of democracy the reward of the associated effort of democratic peoples everywhere; so that when this war is over neither we nor they can have any monopoly of that virtue,

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but will be partners in its glory, and so associates in the further progress which is to be made.

For we must never forget, when we speak of democracy, that it is not an accomplishment, it is not a thing that has been done, but it is a progress, it is a system of growth, and though to-day we might achieve what our limited vision proclaims to us as the democratic ideal, its quality is such that when we stand on what now seems to us the highest peak in the range, there will ever be greater heights ahead to tempt and inspire us.

And so, when this war is over, and the crude medievalism of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs is at last confronting its fate; when this contest is over and the David of democracy has dealt with the Goliath of medievalism and autocracy, there will still be work for David to do worthy of his best efforts, and in its accomplishment great benefits to the race will still remain to be achieved.

People are sometimes disposed to adopt a complaining tone about our efforts; not many, but here and there one. There are two ways of looking at this war and our preparation for it. One is to look at what we have done, and one is to look at what we have not done. If we realize that practically every activity of the Government associated in this business has been required in a very short space of time to expand 3,000 per cent, if we take account of the things that actually have been achieved, not only will we find that we have

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won the admiring commendation of visitors from the Old World, who are familiar with what they have done and are amazed at our progress, but we will find solid ground for pride in the strength, capacity and greatness of our own people.

Now, I am perfectly aware that in any great enterprise where one starts in wishing to achieve everything, there are things in the first rush of preparation, for which the industry of the country is not yet adequately prepared, things which time will right; and so if you go about with a critical and fault-finding spirit, you can always find enough to satisfy that sort of spirit—it does not take much.

But think of us as a people who really love peace, who for nearly a century and a half have devoted themselves to its ideals and its practices, whose affections have been engaged with the accomplishments of peace and civilization, who have learned to love justice and who have embodied it in their own political and social institutions, who have established among themselves a generous competition in industrial and scientific and commercial progress, who have spread abroad among themselves processes of universal education, so that almost year by year the general level of the material and intellectual and spiritual life of their people has been visibly elevated. If you come to recognize in us that sort of people, devoting ourselves with an intense devotion to the working out of finer adjustments for human happiness and for

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the recognition of the rights of the individual, and then see us suddenly summoned to go back five hundred years to deal with a recrudescence of brute force, unilluminated by any sort of morality or humanitarian consideration, and then see what we have done in that space of time to readjust ourselves to this odious and unlovely thing that we are forced to do, I think you will agree not only that we have done great things, but that we can be reassured about civilization.

Civilization does not mean the enfeeblement of a people. Disinclination to fight does not mean inability to fight. We can with confidence, from now on, pursue those processes which have hitherto engaged us and seem to promise so much, always with the assured conviction that education does not destroy courage and that a civilized, peace-loving, God-fearing nation, if it has to protect itself against brute aggression, has the capacity, the concentration of purpose necessary; nay, that in democratic institutions there is that virtue which is perfectly sufficient to any contest it may be called upon to face.

I shall not take your time to recount, in thousands and millions, either of dollars or of blankets, what the country has done. In the first place those figures mean very little, and in the second place, I cannot remember them. But this war requires three things: It requires money, men and morale.

The great talents of the Secretary of the Treas-

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ury have had a most extraordinary opportunity, most wonderfully improved, to mobilize the finances of this country back of this war.

The Congress of the United States was faced with the question of mobilizing the men of this nation, and I think the reception given by the country to the solution they gave that problem shows the youthfulness and ability to learn of the American people. At the outset there were those who remembered when armies were gathered, such little armies as we used to have, by a drum and fife corps, and an orator here and there, who whipped the spirit of the community into an enthusiastic outbreak, and gathered in the willing and took them off to camp. Or some individual's popularity was appealed to to raise a company or a regiment, and men went more because they admired and loved a particular captain than for other reasons.

But we had observed what was going on abroad, and we saw that this kind of war meant the mobilization of the whole nation, and that to leave the volunteer to solve that problem meant such a disorganization of the industrial and commercial and social life of the country as probably would result also in a weakened army. And so the Congress said, "We will recognize at the outset the universality of the obligation of service and proclaim boldly that it is for the Government to decide, for the nation, acting as an

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aggregate, to decide where each man's talents can best be used."

So they passed the law called euphemistically the Selective Service Law. And some people said, "Isn't it a draft?" And I, speaking below my breath, replied, "Yes." Somehow or other every time I mistrust democracy, I get punished for it.

Finally the law was passed and a day was set for the registration of the young men of this country, and in a single day ten millions of them registered. No other country in recorded history ever did such a thing, and it was done by us so easily, so simply, so naturally, and so completely as a matter of course that it passed by without adequate notice of its significance.

It was not merely obedience to a law, it was the acceptance of its spirit; and if there be a lingering doubt in the mind of any one as to that being true, let him go to Yaphank or to any other of the sixteen cantonments in which the National Army is being assembled, and he will find these young men, just a cross-section of the common life of this country—college professors, college students, merchants, mechanics, bankers, farmers, men with any kind of occupation or none,—all of them now filled with but one thought, as it comes to me in Washington by round-robins and by letters from friends and by reports of observers and inspectors—but one thought, and that is, "Mr. Secretary, how soon can we go to France?"



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In the meantime, the mobilization of the resources of this country is an equally inspiring chapter in this story. Even before the United States was in the war there were uneasy pushings forward of men in industry and commerce, saying, "Can't the Government find some way to establish relations of usefulness for us to the Government?" There was a feeling in the air, just as there is in the opera—I am borrowing an illustration from John Fiske, I think—but there was a feeling in the air, just as there is in the opera, when the violins play a kind of tremolo, and one begins to have a sense that something is going to happen that transcends in importance the other things that have been going on upon the stage.

And so from all over this nation there began to be a reaching of hands of helpfulness toward Washington, and when finally the President addressed the Congress and war was declared and the die was cast, and we were shoulder to shoulder with Great Britain and France in this struggle, Washington became almost an inextricable confusion, men treading upon one another's heels and crowding one another away from the department buildings in their impetuous zeal to say, "What can we do and how can we be used?"

And so all over this country there has gone on a gathering unison of spirit, a gathering desire for sacrifice. Industry is diverting itself from less important to more important things. What we used to know as capital and labor have for

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the most part forgotten their differences, and the imperial theme now that guides every man's thinking and every man's acting is service to the nation.

Now, it strikes me as rather an interesting reflection that while we are in this war to make the world safe for democracy, democracy is making itself manifest here among us; for that is democracy—the coöperation, without distinction of fortune or opportunity, of all the men of the nation for the common good.

We are recognizing it, too, I think, in our human relations. I have been traveling around over the country seeing these training camps, and I find that when ten or twenty or thirty thousand boys are camped near a city, large or small, the city adopts them. There is an instantaneous and widespread process of affectionate adoption going on, so that men of my time of life, when they walk along the street and see a man in khaki, have an almost irresistible desire to say, "My son!"

How beautiful that is, and how true it is! For when, on some moonlight night, on the fields of France, some American boy's face is upturned, some boy who has made the grand and final sacrifice in this cause, no passerby nor no imagination that reaches him will be able to discern whether he came from a blacksmith's forge or a merchant's counter or a banker's counting room. He will simply be an American, and our affection

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for him, our adoption of him, our pride in him, will be as indiscriminating.

Now all of this, I think, tends to afford some consolation. It is one of the by-products of this war that is going to be of immense value to mankind when it is over. I have already adverted to the association with other nations. I suppose every boy, when he is a boy and thinks of Heaven, looks forward to communion with the spirits of the great departed. Every generous soul desires contact with greatness, and now we are sending over to France unnumbered thousands of choice young Americans to associate with a great people, and with men who have responded to magnificent inspirations.

When Joffre was in this country he was in my office one day for about an hour, and I was deeply impressed with his apparent imperturbable calm. He spoke hastily, as it seemed to me; all French seems hasty to me because I don't understand it. But he was calm, and after he had gone out I asked one of his staff officers who had been with him from the beginning of the German invasion of France whether he was always as untroubled and calm as that, and how he had behaved in the terribly disheartening and disastrous days before the Battle of the Marne. His aide gave me this picture of him: The old Marshal sat in his headquarters, and day after day dispatches came; every minute a dispatch, all of them dark and menacing. They were handed to him by the

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young man who told me this story, announcing the German advance here, and the French retreat there, and the capture of this city, and finally the approach of the German army to Paris.

And this Major told me that as each dispatch came in the old Marshal would shrug his shoulders and say, "Oh, well—eh, bien!" until finally, under the accumulation of this intense anxiety, the last dispatch came, telling that the German army was in sight of Paris, their objective, the heart of the Marshal's nation. And in an instant his "Oh, wells," his "Eh, biens," came to an end. When this last dispatch came in he glanced at it for a moment, tossed it aside, and said, "This is far enough"; picked up a pencil and with his own hand wrote the message to the soldiers of France which ended with something like these words: "The enemy must be permitted to advance not one step farther. The least that France expects of any of her sons is that he will die where he stands."

And that began the Battle of the Marne, and from that day to this, France has realized her expectation in her children.

And right alongside of them is that superb British army, no longer the despised little army, the contemptible little army, but Kitchener's army, the army of Great Britain and her colonies, gathered from over all the world.

Off in the far-flung corners of the globe the same sort of progress is being made, until only

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day before yesterday the poetic and romantic news came that Jerusalem was in the hands of Allenby, and the children of the civilization that sprang from that country are now in possession of their holy places, and can walk untroubled by Saracen and Mohammedan as Richard Cœur de Lion wanted to walk in what was the promised land in years gone by.

It is a wonderful story, the alignment of the nations which can truly be called civilized, against the ancient medievalism which survives in the heart of Europe. The hope of mankind, so often frustrated, apparently is now to be accomplished. It could not be done in Napoleon's time, in spite of the French Revolution, and its philosophy and its promise, because of what Danton called "The Allied Kings of Europe." It could not be done in 1848, because of the Metternichs and the Bismarcks. It could not be done in 1870, because Hapsburg and Hohenzollern were still triumphant. But out of the West, out of this youngest and latest and most hopeful of the nations of the earth, out of this young giant, fashioned from all the peoples, who originated and faithfully practiced a new philosophy, messages of democracy have gone over and indoctrinated other peoples in other parts of the world.

Now, in the fullness of time, this giant is grown, and joins hands with other peoples, who, though older, are yet the children of his spirit. We are partners to-day with great men of great

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nations who have borne for three years heroically the brunt of this struggle. At the end of it, out of the noise and smoke of battle, there arises the vision of a new federation of nations, of a new fraternity of mankind—the sons and daughters of civilization joining hands to protect the sacred principles upon which the freedom of mankind rests.

In and about our training camps new conditions have arisen. All sorts of modern, advanced ideas with regard to the amusement and entertainment and recreation of young men in order that they may be virile, strong, and high-minded, have been adopted, not because of any particular wisdom of any one man, but because of the unanimous judgment and demand of the American people. And when our army goes abroad, it will be a knightly army, not an army of conquest that expects to come home with chariots loaded up with material spoils, and prisoners chained to the wheels, but an army that is going over to live and die for the fine fruits of a high idealism and a purified national morality.

And when we add the righteousness of our cause to the intensity and success of our preparation, mobilizing the material and spiritual and scientific resources of our great people, and think of the character of our army, we see but one possible conclusion to this. Its first step will be military victory on the field, but its last step, its great fruits, the victory which will enter New York

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Harbor some day written on the shields of our boys who will bring it to us, the victory that we will value most, will be a vindication in the sight of all men everywhere of the virtue of freedom, the vigor of civilization, of true civilization, the inviolable righteousness of international engagements and agreements—the fact that among nations, as among men, the wages of sin is death.

My fellow-citizens, we are in a war with all its losses, material and human. There may be griefs in store for us of a personal kind, and we shall bear them with fortitude. But for mankind, and for us as a nation, there is joy in store; not only in the introduction of a new and higher era for the advance and effort of mankind, not only that men and women and children are to have a newer and larger liberty in the life that is to come, but that we Americans, having so greatly enjoyed under the favor of Providence these priceless possessions, have been privileged to participate in making them a common asset for mankind.

## THE NEW FREEDOM AND THE NEWER DEMOCRACY

*It won't do for us to embrace the hollow figure in which democracy was once a tenant and say, "This is Democracy." We must have an image to represent it which is suited to the environment in which the figure is to play a part.*

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSO-  
CIATION, POLI'S THEATER, WASHINGTON,  
DECEMBER 14, 1917.

**D**OES it seem unnatural to you that those of us who are especially charged with the responsibilities of this great world war and our participation in it should be asking ourselves questions about its ultimate effect upon the world? In the struggle we are now facing, if the incalculable waste of human life and human effort—if the hopeless loss of life and destruction of capacity were not relieved by some hopeful and forward-looking promise, the burdens of this struggle would be quite insupportable for the human race.

As a consequence, I think, in those moments when we are free from the burden and responsibility of an insistent and instant demand, most of us are seeking to penetrate the future, and see what this war means for the betterment of the race, at large, and in the future. I have often



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asked myself, "What does this war mean to women?" And in asking that question, I always put the accent on "this" war; because woman's portion of most wars is a fairly obvious thing—it is a contribution of loss, a contribution of broken hearts, a contribution of sacrifice and a ministry of mercy. Except that her fight is inseparably bound up with that of the nation of which she is a member, it ordinarily has had no larger significance for her. But when I put the accent on *this* war, it seems to me that one of the large redeeming hopes of the struggle begins to appear, because this is certainly the first war of its kind which has been waged for democracy.

The President the other day made an illuminating definition of democracy by first denying that it is a political philosophy and then, in his next breath, stating that it is a rule of action. Now the thing that I want to point out about democracy to-night is that it is not an accomplished thing to possess, but is a process of growth. It is a series, an endless series of advances and, accepting the President's definition that democracy is a rule of conduct, it is always the rule which adapts the conduct of the individual to the best purpose achievable in the environment in which he is placed; so that, constantly, democracy and the obligations of democracy and its opportunities are extending and changing with the environment.

It has been so long since I have had any oppor-

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tunity to look even at the back of a book of history that I hesitate to fortify that statement with any historical illustrations; and yet some very obvious illustrations do occur even to one who, like myself, has had little acquaintance with history more recent than his college days. Democracy in ancient Greece was a rule by a very small and restricted privileged class, who among themselves preserved some equality of political right and opportunity, but their rule was extended over a very large population which was either economically and socially inferior or absolutely enslaved.

Democracy in Rome was not much wider in its distribution of political rights. The first constitution, which was made under the French Revolution, was a constitution with altogether illogical restrictions upon manhood suffrage. The very people who wrote the rights of man as the declaration of the principles upon which the French Revolution was justified, wrote in the next breath, in the laws by which they undertook to carry that declaration into effect, an illiberal system which restricted the right to vote and laid a property qualification upon it.

And so, when our own tentative democracy, our democracy of 1776 and 1789, was established—accepting the President's definition and applying it—it was a rule of conduct adapted to the environment of 1789. And when later we come to the present year or to recent years, it won't

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do for us to embrace the hollow figure in which democracy was once a tenant and say "This is DEMOCRACY," but we must have an image to represent it which is suited to the environment in which the figure is to play a part. We must have the democracy of 1917, because the democracy of 1789 is not adapted to the environment of 1917.

Now what are the underlying facts which have changed? Institutions and governments grow more complex as they progress, because of the necessity of their being constantly adapted to the needs which they are to meet. In 1789 we were largely a rural and agrarian population. The family was no less the unit of society than it is now, but the interests of the family were very much more narrowed. The intimacies of the family in the few interests they had were very much more close; the process of representation by a single member of a family was not in the slightest degree striking or shocking or curious to people of that time. More lived within their own homes. The walls of the home and the church were substantially the accepted perimeter within which their rights and activities were all contained.

Then we embarked upon an enlargement of our activity. Our own civilization became more intense. We not only departed from the stage coach and the pack mule as modes of transportation, and adopted the steam railroad and the electric motor, but we speeded up our intellectual

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processes in the same ratio. We speeded up education and scattered it widespread over the land. We made all of the industrial and commercial processes of our people very much more intense and by the introduction of machinery we took away from industry and from commerce a very great deal of the highly specialized skill which made it necessary for a man to devote an entire lifetime to the pursuit of a single activity in order to become expert in it. At the same time we became a very much more congested population, and all of these things led to the advent of women in industry and in commerce, and to the introduction of large numbers of girls and women into spheres of activity which were previously entirely restricted to men; and as we began to be engaged in the same work, there began to be a unity of interest, began to be more and more of that industrial society which has finally come to be recognized in the law. That is what always takes place. Government at its best is the surrender by each individual of only so much of his individual right and liberty as must necessarily be surrendered for the common good, which is deemed higher than the good of the individual.

We surrender these rights very reluctantly. If there were but one man in the world, he would have all the rights there are—he would have to make no surrenders. But when we come to two men with two rights, we find that each must surrender so much of his previously unrestrained lib-

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erty as is necessary to make them get along together in the world which they both happen to inhabit. And if we go from two men to ten men, and to hundreds of men and to thousands and millions of men, we find a constant increase in the proportion of the previously unrestrained individual right which must be surrendered in order that common good may come out of it and that society may be protected.

So when we come to see society as we have it now, we find ourselves a congested population of men and women, with a tremendously increased number of common interests, each of us being required to surrender more and more of our previously unrestrained liberty, and freedom of action, in order that the common good may be represented and protected.

Now the result of that is that in 1789 it might well have been possible to have defined as a democracy a society in which the family was represented by a single representative—a man; but in 1917, society cannot speak of itself as a democracy unless it forgets its old environment, unless it remembers the change that has taken place. It cannot speak of itself as a democracy unless all the men and women who live under the administration of that government and those institutions, are recognized and represented in the Government.

And so we speak of this war as being a war for democracy. Women are making sacrifices in

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this war, just as the men are making sacrifices in it. The immense activities of the organized and unorganized women of America who are contributing to the strength of our nation as it is being expressed in this contest, are not susceptible of being withdrawn any more than the activities of the men. I have made no careful search of my own mind on the subject, but I think I am prepared to say that, if all the women in America were to stop to-night doing the things that they are doing, and making the sacrifices and contributions they are making toward the conduct of this war, we would have to withdraw from the war. We would at least have to withdraw until we could bring about the entire reorganization of our social and industrial structure.

So that one of the demonstrations which this war is making, one of the conclusions it is bringing home, is that men and women are essentially partners in our industrial and commercial civilization, in any modern civilization, and that the democracy which we are struggling to establish—the only sort of democracy which will satisfy anybody's heart and mind when we emerge from this war, is one which recognizes the rights of all the persons in that society.

Now that is a dreadfully unemotional sort of thing with which to try to satisfy oneself in a time like this. It seems an intangible sort of satisfaction, and yet I wonder whether it is not about as enduring as any satisfaction can possibly be.

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When this war is over we will write down in books that at such and such a time there was a battle fought, and a victory won, that our adversary sent word to this, that or the other general that he desired to make peace, that they began to make parleys at that place, and that finally treaties were written which settled the rights of nations, and other things. They will put flags, the flags of our country, and of France and of Germany, of England and Italy and Austria, on the page that records that great triumph. The philosophers will talk about the defeat of Autocracy at the hands of Democracy. There is something infinitely romantic and poetic about that. I cannot imagine any picture addressing my imagination with more appeal than that of the House of Hapsburg and the House of Hohenzollern coming out of the night, coming out of the Dark Ages, medieval figures still, and meeting here in the Twentieth Century the young, strong, incomparable giant of the modern spirit.

Poets will write about this struggle and historians will record it. Most of it will be undoubtedly grouped around the surface indications of democracy, the rights of more people to participate in the government; but I suspect that the real factor in this contest, the real fundamental element which is to go on and fructify indefinitely in the future, will be the demonstration of the fact that democracy itself is an effect, is a progress rather than a state of being, and that

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there will ever be new heights to which the human spirit may climb, more and more benefits to be secured for the human race, larger and larger liberties and opportunities, more and more far-reaching places within which the human spirit can perfect itself.

This war is the culmination of a long history. Nobody can tell how long ago it began in the making. There is one of Shakespeare's plays—I confess I have forgotten which one—in which I see the picture of a general on a field in a tent—it must have been Richard III—it was just before the battle that was to decide his fate, and it was night. And as his head sank over in sleep, while he was seeking rest for strength in the next day's conflict, there came trooping by him dream figures of those whom he had done to death. I have no such personal feeling about the particular representative of the Hohenzollern family who happens to be alive when the family history comes to the breaking point, as to make him represent the king within that tent; but Prussia is before that tent, asleep, and the figures that are trooping by are Silesia and Poland and Alsace-Lorraine, and all the territory that Prussia has racked and stolen and taken away from other people, and all the violence it has done in the world and all the recognizances it has failed to make of the validity of the simple cardinal rules of justice and truth in human conditions, as applying to nations. All of these are trooping



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by as dream figures in the troubled sleep of that nation which is now brought to the day of retribution. And as we look upon that nation lying at the door of her tent and reviewing her past, this war gives us a new lesson. It teaches us that some day we may have to sleep in front of the tent; as a nation there may come a critical hour in our national life when we will be called upon to review our past and see whether we are worthy to live, whether or not we ought to give place to something stronger and more virile, and more righteous than we; and if the figures that pass our tent door are denials of democracy, are refusals to recognize our environment; if they are injustices to great groups of our fellow-citizens; if they are arrogations and special privileges to particular groups of men or women, of either to the exclusion of the other; if those are the figures that pass before the tent—then we may be very sure that the battle on the morrow will go to the stronger race. But if the figures that pass before that tent door are figures of a people who really do love democracy and progress, who at every step in their national career sought to readjust themselves to the environment in which they lived,—if they are figures representing recognition of the rights of individuals to the highest fine development of which their capacities are susceptible; if the figures that troop by are justice, in the adequate and fundamental sense, and real recognition of the rights of others; then we can

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face the breaking of the morning and the onset of battle, just as we can face it now in the contest that is ahead of us, sure that it may bring some sacrifices—such is the quality of blessings in this world—but sure also that endurance and perpetuity must in the very nature of things and in the justice of nature, be awarded to those who are faithful to such ideals.

So analyzing this war, we realize that it is giving us of the Twentieth Century an opportunity to keep step with our age. Before this war began, Democracy gave its name to a political party. And as I happen to be a member of that party, I like to think that party represents that policy; but Democracy is more than the name of a political party now, and this war is teaching us to recognize that, and to see women's share in it. They have the opportunity to make the sacrifices; they have the opportunity to help; they, like men, are spurred on by its superb inspirations. Like men they are discovering a new and latent and unsuspected capacity in themselves for action and aspiration. The nation itself is discovering latent capacities and unsuspected superiorities. Nations are drawing closer together and discovering one another's inherent nobility. And so, when this war is over, and we begin the reconstruction of a shaken and shattered civilization, after the pouring in of oil and the binding up of the wounds of the flesh are over, and we begin to try to bind

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up the spiritual wounds of mankind resulting from this struggle, we will then have become aware almost unwittingly—we will have become aware of the fact that the salvation of the world lies really in the thing we have been fighting for. This democracy that we speak of and follow, must not be some traditional and historical thing, something of official creed and stiff formalities, a declaration written in lofty high-sounding phrases; but what the President calls it—a rule of conduct by which each individual in the State (reserving to himself jealously all the freedoms and rights that can be reserved, yet gives up all that is necessary, in the name of humanity, in order that by the common effort of every one, the common good may be effected.

If I had some subtle and instantaneous way of using efficiently all of the good will and willingness to help that there is in America, the world could not stand against her five minutes. Facing the fact that it takes some time to order the process by which so much willingness and good will can be used—that is the difficult part of this situation, and yet that is one of the prices that we pay for democracy.

It is perfectly possible to have an ordered and regimented society in which each person will have in his pocket a card and upon that card directions as to how he is to act under all sorts and conditions of circumstances, and when a national

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emergency arises to have the public authority telegraph abroad, "Everybody act according to Rule 13." It would be possible to fix by congressional enactment a particular breakfast hour for the human race and prescribe their conduct for every five minutes of the rest of the day; and in certain forms of government that is a more or less popular amusement.

But one of the characteristics of democracy is that it does not proceed that way. It scatters its people; it allows them to go about here and there, seeking by individual inspiration and unguided effort to find the avenue of their own highest opportunity and enjoyment. All are busy about their own concerns, and then, when the national emergency comes, there is no Rule 13. Everybody has to ask somebody else, "Well, what are you going to do? What do you think I can do?" After a while these severely troubled waters do really come to a healing influence, and we find that though we seem to have been going in circles and apparently indulging in a good deal of futility, yet the thing we have been really doing is consulting about the mode of gathering the aggregate strength of the nation for the accomplishment of our high-minded purposes. Men are doing it just as women are doing it. The organizations of women in this country have been tremendously effective—they are growing daily more effective. Throughout American life there is developing in industry, in commerce, in finance,

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among men and among women, in the philosophy of this conflict, in the morality of this conflict, in the hope of this conflict—there is developing a perfectly well-defined unity of fellow feeling, and the consequence is that when this war is over, we shall be more a nation in the best sense of that word than we have ever been before.

Many of the old things that belong to the old order will have passed away with that order. The new date line of this central and pivotal event in the history of the human race will have made memories of a lot of things which have been prejudices heretofore, and we shall start out with one of the great fruits of this war,—a new knowledge of the progressive character of democracy and a new faith in the capacity of men and women to achieve the great promise which world democracy holds for the race.

## THRICE-ARMED AMERICA

*The Army is merely the point of the sword; the handle, and the hand that wields the handle and the body that controls that hand, and the subsistence of that body, are all just as vitally indispensable to the effective use of that weapon as the point itself.*

CHAUTAUQUA REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON,  
JANUARY 2, 1918.

**H**AD I a message to bear to the American people, it would be one of pride and encouragement at the splendid mobilization of the national power which has actually taken place in America. I think nothing has ever gone on in the world like the thing which has gone on in this country since we entered the European War. Diverting our industries from their peace-time occupation, turning our attention to the great task and the great opportunity which has been opened up to us, there has arisen among our people a unanimity of spirit and a common willingness to sacrifice; a determination to see this great job through, which has simplified the task of those who have been more or less at the center and the direction of things, and has proved to us this great truth that it is not necessary for

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people to doubt Democracy; that whenever Democracy has an emergency to meet, it has the inherent power to rise to that emergency and to exert itself in ways that are adequate to any attack which can be made upon it.

The wholesome and happy feeling I derive from that is this: it gives us assurance to go on building America as we were building it—building it as a democracy, putting the emphasis on liberty and freedom. We are now assured that in a country organized in this way, with love of freedom as its basic spirit, there is no weakening, there is no enfeeblement of the coördinative powers of the people. When the emergency comes, the power is there and it lends itself readily to coördination and to expression and to effective use.

Nothing is more valuable for the people of the United States, I think, than that they should have just grounds, as they *have* just grounds, for retaining their belief in the validity as well as in the beauty of democratic institutions. And our people are entitled to have that assurance because democratic though we are, we have effectively co-ordinated the strength of the nation. We have coördinated its financial strength, its industrial strength, its man power, and its moral strength, and dedicated them to a great heroic task in a way that no other country in history has done.

I hope that you may bring the conviction to

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your audiences that every man in America is interested in this war; that it is not the war of the people in Washington; it is not the war of the people in the army,—it is the war of *every* man in America, and the things which we deem true and beautiful in civilization, and which we are seeking to save by this great enterprise cannot be saved by the army alone, but they are to be saved by every man, woman and child old enough to think and willing to do his share.

The army is merely the point of the sword. It is simply the striking point of the national strength; but the handle and the hand that wields the handle, and the body that controls that hand and the subsistence of that body are all just as vital and indispensable to the effective use of that weapon as the point itself.

It is the heightened sense of individual responsibility and individual participation in this thing—it is the dignity of the individual in the midst of this vast enterprise that I would like to have you bring to your audiences so that they can actually feel and have a realizing sense of it, because if every American who looks to his country's interest in this hour, can be made to feel that intimate sense of personal relationship to it; that he is one with it; that his strength is being felt in the push; that his spiritual contribution is on the forward moving side, I am quite sure that it will make the country stronger and will give the



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people of the country a more wholesome attitude toward their own relation to the government.

When this war is over, what we want to be able to do is to push ahead the work of reconstruction. Some one is going to be chosen to reconstruct the world. If the governments which come out of this war triumphant are peoples which have surrendered personal liberties, subordinated the individual to the State, given up the right of free speech and free thought; if those will be the governments which will seem most effective in this war, their model will have to be chosen for future reconstruction. But if the strongest force in this war is the vigor and effectiveness of the free people, then, when this war is over, *that* model will be chosen and people all over the world will select *that* model as the one on which to build the reconstruction of the world.

In order to have America do its part in the reconstruction, we want to have the feeling in this country when the war is over and the victory won, that the whole victory was not won by the soldiers alone. On the day when the victory is won and the peace is accomplished, I'd like to have everybody in the United States feel "I helped to bring that about."

I'd like to have you tell the people of this country that, as Napoleon said, in war morale, or moral force, is to brute force as three to one. The same man said that God was always on the side of

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the heaviest guns. Yet Napoleon, who to many minds is the typification of force, recognized the value of the spirit in war as being three times as great as the value of mere numerical strength.

Now, if the people of the United States can acquire a realization that this great war is the greatest thing that we have been privileged or will be privileged to see and help in, and that the sacrificial spirit which is necessary to sustain and carry it to a victorious conclusion is one not discolored by any sort of selfish advantage—if they can get this realization, then not only will we win the victory on the field, but we will win the victory after the field of battle, in the greater opportunities that will come to the race.

Perhaps I can sum up. I'd like to have you tell the people, first, that their country has risen to this emergency; that it is meeting its responsibility; that it is realizing its opportunity; that the whole country, every part of it, is knit together in a community of spirit and a community of effort which is bringing the great power of our unexhausted and perhaps inexhaustible resources to bear, for success.

Second, that this isn't one man's war, or several men's war, or an army's war, but it is a war of *all* the people of the United States; and .

Third, that the dignity of this task is so great that *every* man's effort in it is an honor to him, and by an appreciation of his participation in

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it, each man makes himself ready not only for better contribution now, but for a larger usefulness in the reconstructive work which is to come after the war is over.

I am very anxious to have the German government grasp what the people of America really think about this war, and what we are doing. Referring to Napoleon's maxim, I am anxious to have our people show the spirit, and feel the identity of interest in all this, which, by those subtle processes of intercommunication apparently now established between Germany and this country, will finally get to the governing power of that empire, and which when translated to them will be this: there are no sectional divisions; there are no partisanships in America; there are no jealousies; there are no personal ambitions, but a people of one hundred million have actually risen in a mass and have devoted themselves to the job of putting an end to the unholy aggression of Germany upon the civilized world.

If the German Emperor has any sort of notion that racial differences exist among us, or that religious differences may annoy us, or that sectional or partisan considerations may divide us, let us send him a message that that is not so. Let us send him word that we are just as much one, although one hundred million of us—that we are just as much one as though we were an individual, and that if he proposes to go on in

## FRONTIERS OF FREEDOM

his attitude toward civilization he will have to count on us as a people who are willing to make the necessary sacrifices to bring the entire aggregate strength and power of this nation to bear against him. That would be a very good "three." The army will be the other "one." With a moral equipment of that kind, and the army, there cannot be any doubt about our success.

## EXPRESSION VERSUS SUPPRESSION

*I am not idealist enough to imagine that the time is at all near when we can dispense with some admixture of force in the carrying out of police regulations, and I am heartily in accord with the belief that there should be segregation, isolation and quarantine. We must use the power which laws recently enacted by Congress have given us to diminish as far as we can by repressive measures opportunities for vicious infections which would enfeeble the Army.*

*Yet I am idealist enough to believe that we have already passed many mile stones since we left the old conditions, and that our progress, our substantial and tremendous progress, is going to be along the line of healthy and wholesome and stimulating and strengthening substitutes as counterbalances to temptation.*

NATIONAL SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 31, 1918.

**I**N the office of the Chief of Police of Cleveland there is a picture about the size of that tapestry on the wall facing me, done by a man with no knowledge of painting. He knew blue when he saw it, and he knew red when he saw it, and that is about all he did know about colors. It represents a little child crossing a street, and you can see in her face, rudely as the picture is done, the anxiety and timidity of a

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little girl crossing a dangerous highway. And just alongside her is a great big humane-looking policeman who is helping her across. And you can see in her face, also, the anxiety about to depart and her reliance upon the policeman as her guardian and protector. The man who painted that picture did not know very much about art, but he knew a very great deal about other things. He made his policeman big enough and strong enough to express the resolute will of society against persistent wrong-doing. And he made him also man enough to realize that the fears of a child were worth providing against and the confidence of the child worth fostering.

I have thought of that picture very often. When I first came into the police court in Cleveland it was as sad a place as I ever knew; every morning, in addition to the hardened offenders, the habitués of the place, there was a flock of little children. I counted one morning seventeen children under fifteen years of age, in what was known as the "bull pen" of that prison, the city jail. And those children,—nine, ten, eleven, twelve years old,—were huddled into the ante-room of the courtroom with hardened offenders, men and women, and what they heard from the time they were imprisoned until they were brought into the court, perhaps to be sentenced back to jail with those same people, was enough to introduce a hardening influence into their lives. It made of that kind of effort at law enforce-

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ment merely a perpetuation of the evil effects of accidental wrong-doing until the children became calloused into relentless habit.

I am talking about the Dark Ages! All that happened so long ago that I have to search my recollection to find that such a thing could be true; and yet it was true, not in Cleveland alone but in cities throughout the United States generally. But we began to advance, and one of the most conspicuous advances we made was the institution of the juvenile court system, by which we substituted for the indiscriminate repressive method a parental system of discipline. We elected men to be juvenile judges, not because they did not know any law, nor because they did, but because the community which selected them judged them to have a sympathetic comprehension of the point of view of children and of the processes which society ought to adopt to rescue children from their early mistakes.

We have no scales by which we can measure social advances, but if there were some subtle process by which we could measure in miles the steps upward taken by society when the juvenile court was established as a separate method of dealing with juvenile offenders, I feel quite certain that the mileage of that advance would compare favorably with any other social step we have taken in the last fifty years.

Now the next contribution to that progress lay in the idea of recreation. In 1850, as I recall,

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there were only two cities in the United States that had public parks. To-day there is no city in the United States which does not have public parks; there are no small towns in the United States which do not have public parks. And our first idea about the park was just outdoor air and opportunity, room for people to spread out and get away from the depressing effects of the congestion of modern civilization. Our factory system had brought about the congestion of industrial workers largely in city units in order that they might be handy to their places of employment, and so we had outgrown the village unit idea with the village common and had brought ourselves into a civilization where we lived pressed in between hard brick walls and with nothing to walk on except stone streets. Indeed, it isn't a jest, it is a solemn and pathetic fact as told in *Life* some years ago, how some children went from New York to get a breath of fresh air on some fresh air mission's outing. When these children got outside of New York and into the open country, some of them were found sitting on the top rail of a fence, entirely disconsolate and with their eyes filled with tears. Asked why they were sitting there, instead of romping about enjoying themselves, they said that there were no gutters to play in. We had brought their young life to a place where they had an invincible habit of the restrictions of city life and they couldn't be happy without them.



## EXPRESSION VERSUS SUPPRESSION

The child-life and the young life of our great cities was growing up unrecreated.

So the park was developed, and after that the playground, and it was on a perfectly logical theory. Originally it was humanitarian, philanthropical, and benevolent in its start; some kindly man or some kindly woman who saw children playing in the street, where they were likely to be run over, would say, "Those children ought to have a back yard to play in, a little square, or a little common lot"; and that was provided for them. Then, as always happens, philanthropy became the pioneer of the functions of the State. The business of the philanthropist is to discover those things which society ought to do and, by demonstrating that they can be done, challenge the attention of society to its duties. So private philanthropy gave parks and playgrounds, put up swings and see-saws, and then the State or society came in, either the State government or the city government, and said: "This is *our* duty"; and all over the United States now we have parks and playgrounds in every city and in every place where people are gathered in any numbers.

And then the next step. It was realized that we could not reproduce in a city, by simply giving a piece of ground, those normal opportunities for play which occur in the sparsely settled countryside; that the artificiality of city life intruded itself into the playgrounds and that it was necessary to have supervised play in order that it

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might be wholesome play; and so we began to train experts. And, private philanthropy, pioneering again, set up schools for playground teachers, and private persons employed them and sent them to the parks to lead the children. And after a while society said, "We might as well cut down our bill for policemen, have only one-half as many policemen and hire some playground instructors, leaders, play-masters, companions for these children." And so all over the United States now, we know of no city which does not have as a part of its city budget, recreational facilities and recreational instruction.

I could recount other steps in this general direction. Those are the most important ones. Now this same impulse has been recognized in the Boy Scout movement,—the idea of getting the boy out of an unnatural environment and taking him back to the thing that it is in the nature of the boy to like doing, to make a woodsman of him, take him on hikes, and in the doing of these things to give him an opportunity to acquire those generosities of nature which belong to the natural man.

The Y. M. C. A., started—I trust I offend no one by this statement about it, I think I am historically accurate—started originally, in accordance with the temper of its time, as a more or less denominational or strictly religious movement with the idea of gathering young men in, in order that they might have formal religious

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exercises, and then it seized—because it was akin to this fine new thing that was discovered—it seized upon the idea of recreation as a means of regenerating the spirit and body of young men. Now all over the United States are Y. M. C. A.'s, having as one of their most active interests and enterprises, the athletic competitions, the gymnasias, the outing clubs, all those things which tend to get young men together in wholesome and normal environment—taking them out into contact with nature and relieving them of the congestion of city life.

I don't suppose anybody ever compiled in any comprehensive way the statistics as to the decrease in criminality consequent upon the establishment of recreational facilities. It has been studied in spots. In Chicago when they began the great playground movement,—they have very remarkable model playgrounds in Chicago,—they did keep an accurate account of juvenile criminality in the neighborhoods where these places were established. And it showed almost instantly a progressive decrease.

Finally we learned this lesson, these two lessons. We learned that where there was a healthily conducted and adequate recreational opportunity, it was impossible for the old downward tendency of young men to continue; that in the presence of that opportunity the natural and spontaneous tendencies of young men asserted themselves. We learned this other thing; that the way to keep

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young people from doing bad things is to give them an opportunity to do good things. There is an immense reassurance in that. It demonstrates to those who are watching it and following it that really the natural tendency of the young is toward the wholesome and the right and that it is the occasional and accidental young person, in an unfavorable environment and under the pressure of adverse circumstances, who acquires through such contacts the tendency downward.

I can give you another illustration. We had in Cleveland the problem of the dance hall. No other problem that we had during the time I was connected with the city government seemed more refractory and difficult. The dance halls were located at the corner hall, frequently over saloons, sometimes over perfectly well-conducted saloons. Cleveland is a large city with a very large foreign-born population, and the habit of many of those groups of foreign peoples was to have a hall built in the middle of the neighborhood in which they lived, which they would call their national hall, naming it after their particular nationality, so that they might meet there for social entertainments. These halls frequently had a dance hall annexed, or were used for dancing. But we found that the difficulty with the dance hall was that it opened too early and it closed too late, and it was commercialized by the desire of those who conducted the entertainments

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to admit as many persons as possible, because the admission was the profit which went to the person who conducted the enterprise. And we found that the evil results of the dance halls were marked and difficult to combat.

We started out with the repressive idea. First we put a police officer in each one, a kind of supervisor; then we put a chaperone in each one. Some improvement took place after each step. And finally it occurred to somebody to offer a wholesome substitute for the whole business and see how that would work. The price in the dance halls usually was five cents a dance, for a dance of three minutes. We took two very large pavilions out in public parks, closed them up so that they would be comfortable in winter time and opened dances conducted by the city and chaperoned by carefully selected men and women. We opened them a little later than the ordinary dance hall, and we closed them just enough earlier than the ordinary dance hall to prevent anybody going from our dance to anybody else's dance—it was too late to go anywhere else when they left us; and we charged, instead of five cents for three minutes, three cents for five minutes. And everybody came to dance with us! As a consequence, those dance halls out in our public parks, with all of the fine inducement which a well-protected and well-cared-for city park affords,—flowers in flower beds, Lake Erie rolling off just in sight, good music, plenty of

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light, discreet and pleasant persons about on every hand,—made the sort of social recreation which those young people really wanted and were looking for.

These illustrations are somewhat scattered. I am going back rather hastily into a period of my life which I don't often get a chance to think of any more, and am selecting those high points in my own experience which remain with me as demonstrations of the theory to which I am deeply committed, and which is that one of the greatest elements in law enforcement and one of the soundest character-builders which we have yet discovered, is recreation for the young, recreation for the middle-aged, and recreation for the old.

Now consider our Army. That is the thing, of course, that is in everybody's heart and mind at this minute. Here we have an army of large size. We have started to build it by getting these young officers into training camps; and we called into those training camps the choicest young men of this country, who have been through the colleges and the high schools, where attention was given not only, under our modern practice, to the education of the mind, but to their recreation as well; where their minds were filled with useful information and their bodies were made lithe and active; and where their social point of view was made sound by association under wholesome and stimulating conditions. We

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called these young men into our training camps—and one of them was near enough to Washington to allow most of this audience to see the splendid spirit of the young men who attended these camps.

Then we sent those fine young officers out,—selected right out of the body of our people, endowed with the best gifts that our wisest and latest method of dealing with young men can give—we sent them out to be the officers of the young men whom we brought from homes all over the country to form into this army.

I have gone from camp to camp and talked with the commanding officers, and these commanders tell me that the discipline of this army is almost automatic, and that the old problem of disciplining soldiers has almost ceased to exist as a matter of major concern and anxiety. We have learned that the best control in the world is self-control, and that the best inducement to self-control is the kind of education that gives the best that is in men normal opportunity to grow vigorous.

I am not idealist enough to imagine that the time is at all near when we can dispense with some admixture of force in the enforcement of police regulations, and I am heartily in accord with the belief that there should be segregation and isolation and quarantine. We must use the power which laws recently enacted by Congress have given us to diminish as far as we can by re-

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pressive measures, opportunities for vicious infections which would enfeeble the Army. Yet I am idealist enough to believe that we have already passed many milestones since we left the old conditions, and that our progress, our substantial and tremendous progress, is going to be along the line of healthy and wholesome and stimulating and strengthening substitutes as counterweights to temptation.



## WHAT WE HAVE DONE TO MAKE WAR

*I propose to speak of some of the work of the War Department, of some of its mistakes, and of some of its plans for the future. There is always between the beginning of preparation and the final demonstration of its success, a period of questioning. We look back over the past and realize that there have been delays and that there have been shortcomings, that there have been things which might have been done better. In so great an enterprise it is impossible for frankness not to find these things. But our effort is to learn from them, not to repeat, to strengthen where there is need of it; to supplement where it is required; and, by bringing these two things together, our very best effort and the confidence of the country back of that effort, to make our enemies feel finally the strength that is really American.*

BEFORE THE SENATE MILITARY AFFAIRS  
COMMITTEE, JANUARY 28, 1918.

**I** PROPOSE to speak of some of the work of the War Department, of some of its mistakes, and of some of its plans for the future. The country is entitled to know what this war is, what its problems are, and what steps have been taken to meet those problems.

Also, I have a deep sense of obligation to the officers of the Army and to the civilians who have from the beginning of this difficulty labored in a way which certainly, in my experience, has

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never been equaled for devotion, self-sacrifice, and zeal, who have spent sleepless nights and tireless days in an effort to bring up the organization of this great Army and its use in a military enterprise most rapidly and effectively.

I have seen strong and grizzled men of the Army turn away from my desk to hide tears when they were asked to stay in this country and do organization work here instead of going to France where the glory of their profession lay; and yet I have never known one of them to hesitate for a second to obey the order, nor has there been any lack of quality in the work which any of them has done by reason of his natural ambition to be on the field of battle rather than in an administrative task. Men of the largest experience and of the greatest talent in business have been included in the great company of civilians who have come to Washington from all over the United States, laying down their private business, sometimes accepting salaries which office boys at other places enjoy, sometimes having no salary at all. They have put up with the inadequate conditions which the city now affords because of its congested condition, and have worked in season and out of season on this undertaking.

It would be a tragical thing if this tremendous effort, this wholly unprecedented sacrifice made by men, were found to deserve the comment that it had failed.

I have not the least doubt that such currency

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as that feeling has received is due in large part to the tremendous impatience of the American people to do this great thing greatly. Every one of you, and every one of us, wants to demonstrate the thing which he knows to be true; that our country is great and strong, and in a cause like this will hit like a man at the adversary which has attacked us. And always there is between the beginning of preparation and the final demonstration of its success a period of questioning, when everybody, you and I and everybody else, goes through searchings of heart to find out whether all has been done that could have been or that ought to have been done; whether anything remains that can be done. And we look back over the past and realize that there have been delays and that there have been shortcomings, that there have been things which might have been done better. In so great an enterprise it is impossible for frankness not to find these things.

But our effort is to learn from them, not to repeat; to strengthen where there is need of it; to supplement where there needs supplementing; and, by bringing two things together, our very best effort and the confidence of the country back of that effort, to make our enemies finally feel the strength that is really American.

I have no bias in favor of individuals. The issue before us is far too large for any prejudice or favoritism, and when I discuss, if I shall discuss individuals by name, or if I refer

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to myself, I want it understood that the appearance of any one of us in the casualty list any morning is a negligible matter as contrasted with the success of this enterprise. I am not here either to defend individuals, including myself, or to deny delays, mistakes, shortcomings, or false starts; but I think I can say with confidence that where those things have appeared we have sought the remedy; that in many places we have applied the remedy. The largest purpose I have in being here is to urge what I do not need to urge, that your committee, that the Members of the Senate and the Members of the House, that every citizen in this country, official and unofficial, from the highest to the lowest, should realize that this is their enterprise, not quite so much as it is mine in the sense of responsibility, but still essentially their enterprise, and to ask from you and from them every suggestion, every criticism, every constructive thought that may come to mind. I ask when shortcomings are pointed out to you, whether they be well founded or whether they be not well founded, that you will instantly convey them to me, so that by the processes which the Department has, I may search out where blame is to be attached, where remedies are to be applied, and where strengthening and improvement of the organization is possible.

Mr. Chairman, you made an address in the Senate. It was at the conclusion of an investi-

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gation of two divisions of the War Department, the Ordnance and the Quartermaster Departments. In that investigation some shortcomings had been brought to the attention of the committee—some delays. They fall readily under two or three heads. The delays were in the midst of very large and involved transactions, and yet, by reason of the effort of the committee to trace them to their ultimate cause and to get their proper leadings and bearings, they assumed a disproportionate aspect in relation to what has actually been going on in this war and in the War Department. And if I may venture, with very great respect to the chairman and to the committee, to suggest it, it seemed to me at the time I read that speech that perhaps I would feel about it thus: That without the intention of the chairman and without anybody's intention, its effect might be to cause the country to feel that the particular difficulties and delays referred to by the chairman were characteristic rather than exceptional. I want therefore to address myself to those incidents which were pointed out by the chairman in his address to the Senate and see whether I can not, with his permission and with great deference to him and the committee, place them in a light which will show that, rather than being characteristic, they are instances of shortcomings and *only* instances, and that the general thing to which they bear a relation is not to be inferred as characterized by those instances.

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If I may say one personal word, I should like to say that for some reason, which I do not understand, when I appeared before your committee in these hearings with the intention of being frank, weighed down, as I have been ever since I have been Secretary of War, by accumulating difficulties in that Department (for I became Secretary of War on the night that Villa crossed the border and raided Columbus, and the Department has been an active department ever since, and there has been no hour thereafter when I have not felt that the responsibilities which rested upon me were of the very gravest kind and when I have not wondered constantly where I might find the strength to meet those responsibilities), yet for some reason, with that sense of my duty and my task, and with the utmost desire to aid this committee to develop all that it wanted to know and all that there was, I seem yet to have left, at least upon the minds of some members of the committee, a feeling that I was fencing in order to defend the actions of my subordinates when that was not my intention.

I have brought down here to-day, Mr. Chairman, no hurriedly gathered data with regard to divisions of the War Department and their activities, which you have not as yet inquired into. I am here, if I can, to make a compendious statement of the whole situation, and if there be, as doubtless there will be and ought to be, other

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phases of the War Department's work which your committee desires to go into, I trust you will go into them thoroughly, and when you have detected any shortcoming or defect, I need not tell you that if you bring it to my attention I will do all I can, and that speedily and without fear or favor of person, to correct, adjust, and improve it.

The chairman of the committee read to the Senate two letters dealing with instances of neglect of the dead. They are pathetic letters. They arouse every instinct of resentment and indignation that a man can have. I had not seen those letters before. At once, upon hearing of them, I wrote to the chairman of the committee and asked for the names of the writers of those letters and the camps in which those incidents were reported to have taken place. I wanted, and I want now, to follow those through to the very end to find out who was guilty of this inhuman treatment, to find out who was responsible for the conditions complained of there, in order that I may punish those who are guilty. The chairman has felt that those letters came to him in a confidential way and has suggested that he will endeavor to have himself relieved from that confidence so that I can ultimately get those names and redress the wrong. Those are two instances. I have had others. I have not had those two, but it may interest the committee to know that with more than a million men in arms

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in this country, with great hospital establishments in all these camps, with hospitals established in many camps other than those which are directly devoted to the National Army, the National Guard, and the Regular Army, the number of complaints has been relatively small, perhaps some dozen and a half. In each instance when the complaint came, if it dealt with a question of shortage of supplies, it has been referred to the Surgeon General of the Army in order that instant corrective steps might be taken, but where it involved a breakdown in the human element; where it involved some man who was intrusted with responsibility as to the life and welfare and safe custody of another individual; the remedy has been always to refer it to the Inspector General of the Army for immediate investigation, with the recommendation as to a course of action to be taken which would not only be corrective, but punitive where fault lay.

I have before me here the report of the Inspector General on the cases with which he has had to deal. Many of them show that complaints which, at the outset, looked serious, were not in fact serious. Some of them show that the situation was serious, and remedies and courses of discipline are suggested. I have, for instance, a case somewhat similar to the one which the chairman had, the report of the shipping home of a body of a soldier unclothed. In



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this case the soldier was killed at the Toronto Flying Field, his clothing was removed, his body was wrapped in a winding sheet, and it was received at the home of his parents thus unclothed. Immediate inquiry was made and it was discovered that that flying unit was under the control of a major of the Royal Flying Corps of the British army; that he followed the British custom of removing the clothes of the deceased and returning them in a separate parcel. The undertaker there employed to deal with this body dealt with it as the English and the Canadians are accustomed to do. Immediate instructions were issued that there should be an American officer at that camp and that the American practice should prevail should such a catastrophe happen again.

I have here a case of neglect of a patient, not leading to a fatal result, at Camp Wheeler. The Inspector General investigated it in a judicial manner and came to the conclusion that the conditions did not actually justify the complaint, but that in the bitterness of her distress the wife of this soldier felt that something more might have been done if she could have had her soldier home with her. In the judgment of the Inspector General her complaints were based upon that sort of distressed imagination, with which we are all familiar. No further remedy in that particular case was suggested than that care and consideration should be had in dealing with the relatives.

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The first case of all which came to my personal attention came from Plattsburg, where a complaint was made of the mistreatment of a soldier by a surgeon. I sent immediately for the record, I examined it personally, and I came to the conclusion that that particular officer, a man called in from civil life when the emergency arose and the rapid expansion of the medical corps required it, had failed to understand his responsibility, and I therefore dismissed him from the Army.

There are few cases, however; they amount perhaps to a dozen or so altogether, and there are no others of a graver nature than those I have instanced, no others differing in character from those that I have cited. The whole record, of course, is at the disposal of the committee, if it desires it.

In order that you may realize, Mr. Chairman, that I am trying to be thorough in this matter, I will say that there are still in the hands of the Inspector General nine cases which are being investigated; three allege general bad conditions in hospital service; two, inefficient medical treatment; another complaint is as to careless preparation for burial; two are complaints of neglect by surgeons, and the last one is a simulation of illness with the connivance of a surgeon. I mention these, not because they are as yet demonstrated to be true, but because they are complaints that have come to the department and have been

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put into the hands of that officer of the army who, by reason of the fact that he bears no relation to any other branch or bureau of the service, is intrusted with the investigation of every complaint of this character. They are now being investigated by men trained for such work for the purpose of report and recommendation.

There are two cases which illustrate, in my judgment, the attitude of the department on this subject. The first is that of a lieutenant, charged with neglect of patients at the base hospital at Camp Beauregard, Louisiana. He was court-martialed and sentenced to be dismissed from the service. The other case is that of another lieutenant, charged with neglect of patients, court-martialed, and sentenced to be dismissed from the Army. Their cases present substantially the same facts. These medical officers were in their hospitals; in one case, an ambulance drove up and a man was brought in claiming to be sick. The doctor made a hasty examination, looked at him, felt his pulse, or something of that kind, and ordered him back, saying that he was not sick. In other words, the doctor did not do the things he ought to have done; he did not examine the patient and diagnose his difficulty in either of these cases, and the result was that in both of them severe illness developed, and death resulted.

When those cases came to me, I had them re-

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viewed by the Judge Advocate General to see what further could be done. A court-martial organized in accordance with the laws of the army and of the land had sat upon these cases and apportioned the punishment as dismissal from the army. But when the Judge Advocate General reviewed it for me he came to the conclusion that that sort of neglect went much deeper, and recommended that both of those cases be sent back to the court-martial which had tried them, and that such imprisonment as could be added under the statutes of this country for that kind of neglect should be added to the penalty of dismissal.

As the letters I wrote on the subject will cover the details of the cases accurately, I therefore file and put into the record two letters, written respectively on the 8th and 9th of January, in which the action taken was the firm action of the Department, turning its face against callous disregard of the interests of soldiers. I want the country to know that, though we have had to take doctors out of civil life, because the number of doctors in this country trained in hospital management and in group treatment of cases is limited, the lives and the welfare and the illnesses of these soldiers are a responsibility which I will not permit to be dodged or handled in any cavalier fashion, and the policy of the department is one of punishment where guilt is involved.

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In addition to this, Mr. Chairman, I may perhaps be permitted to say a word or two about what has been done in this matter by the War Department through the Surgeon General's office. When illness broke out in the camps I sent the Surgeon General in person to inspect conditions, and when he made his reports—the reports came to me involving criticism of various kinds as to congestion, and other causes of illness—I handed them in person to the newspapers. I thought it important that the country should know exactly the conditions and exactly the causes, for two reasons: In the first place I wanted no concealment, and in the second place, I wanted the help of the country in correcting the situation.

In addition to that I wrote a memorandum to the Chief of Staff, that, in my judgment, the Surgeon General's Office ought to organize a system of continuous and constant inspection, for while there is a medical officer representing the Surgeon General's Office in every one of these camps, and while the commanding general in each of these camps is chargeable with responsibility for general conditions in his camp, I wanted to make this additional provision, that the Surgeon General's Office itself would organize a continuing system of inspection from day to day of these conditions. I instructed the Inspector General, who has inspectors going from camp to camp, that he should especially charge his men to examine into and report upon conditions in

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the hospitals. Finally, I telegraphed to a very great hospital expert, Dr. John A. Hornsby—I did not know at the time that he was in the medical service of the Army but I happened to have had some previous contact with him when I was superintending the building of a city hospital in Cleveland, and learned at that time of his great experience in all matters of hospital management and construction—I telegraphed him to come to Washington in order that I might select him as my personal inspector to go, without relation to any other part of the War Department, from camp to camp and hospital to hospital and make directly to me recommendations with regard to necessary improvements.

When Dr. Hornsby came to Washington he came in a uniform, showing that the Surgeon General's Office had already drafted his talents and had already assigned him to the task which I intended he should perform, and it happens that I have here in my hand at this moment a telegram from Major Hornsby with regard to the conditions at Camp Pike, one of the camps which has been under comment.

The telegram is as follows:

“CAMP PIKE, ARK., Jan. 23, 1918  
“SURGEON GENERAL ARMY,  
“Mills Building, Washington, D. C.:  
“Conditions at Camp Pike greatly improved.

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Morbidity lower, types milder. Ample accommodations for all sick. Convalescents and mild cases housed well in unoccupied barracks. Roots (that is, Camp Logan H. Roots) has taken 200 cases and will be ready for 500 at once. No pressing need now. Leave here for Washington Thursday night to report unless otherwise ordered. Address care Col. Thornburg.

“(Signed) JOHN A. HORNSBY.”

I shall not, Mr. Chairman, read individual testimony, although I have a great number of letters and messages from men who have gone to hospitals and found the conditions good, for the reason that that is what conditions ought to be; and it adds nothing to the case to say that this man or this woman, this father or this mother, has gone to a hospital and found a boy well cared for; that is what ought to be the universal rule. And yet I have a letter this morning, which I received yesterday, and which I think I will read into the record, because it is from a woman of national fame; a woman who, for the last four months, has gone from camp to camp in the United States writing about them, and printing her observations in public magazines and weeklies; who has done me the favor and honor to come a number of times to me personally to report upon these things she has seen. It is a letter from Mary Roberts Rinehart. As a matter

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of fact I gave Mrs. Rinehart, as I now recall it, a letter which would admit her into any camp and enable her to inspect it.

Mrs. Rinehart's letter is as follows:

NEW YORK, January 26, 1918.

"To the Honorable NEWTON D. BAKER,

"Secretary, Department of War, Washington, D. C.

"MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

"I have just been reading that tragic letter from an unknown father read by Senator Chamberlain during the present Senatorial investigation. Its sincerity can not be questioned. As a mother, and as the mother of a soldier, I feel, as every one must, the deepest grief and sympathy with the parents of that dead boy.

"Like every other mother in the country, I want these cases known. I want to be assured that they will be known. I want drastic punishment applied to any man, of no matter what rank, who is found guilty of negligence in the care, physical or moral, of our boys. And I want immediate remedy of conditions that require remedy.

"But I do feel that some step should be taken to reassure our women just now. It is only fair to them. It is cruel to allow every mother in the country to judge the medical care that will be given to her boy while in the service, because



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here and there, in the chaos of our readjustment, men have been given responsibilities they are unable or unwilling to fulfill. That we have such men is more than a national misfortune. That they have been placed in positions of trust is a national calamity. But the mothers of the country should know in fairness to themselves that the number of such inefficients is small. We will not rest, we women, until they have all been removed. But that, I know, will be at once. It must be at once.

"I have a son in an army cantonment. He enlisted as a private. He would receive, if he became ill, exactly the same treatment as any other enlisted men in our new army. And I should have not only no hesitation in placing him in the cantonment hospital, but I should do it with absolute confidence. As a matter of fact he has already spent a few days there with an infected knee, and received the best of care.

"I know something about hospitals. I took a nurse's training as a girl. I married a member of my hospital staff, and I have been for many years constantly in touch with hospitals. During the first year of the war I visited the hospitals of France and England. Since we went into the war I have, with the avowed intention of seeing, for the women of America, that our boys are to be well cared for in every possible way, visited many training camps and camp hospitals.

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“There are conditions to be remedied. As I reported to you very recently, the failure of supplies has been a serious matter. There are not enough women nurses. The quarters of both nurses and doctors must be enlarged in many cases. The percentage of serious illness has been low in the cantonments—I am not speaking of the camps—but the percentage of mild contagions, which always occur when men are brought together in the mass, and of heavy colds and bronchitis, has been high. The result of sending men with heavy colds for a few days into the hospital has resulted in rather higher figures than the seriousness of the situation would otherwise justify.

“Of cruelty and indifference I have found nothing. On the contrary, I have found the medical staffs of the hospitals both efficient and humane. When it is remembered that the medical men of these National Army hospitals are volunteers, who have cheerfully relinquished the result of years of labor to give their services to the country, that they are of the best we have, as all volunteers are, that they are willingly undergoing deprivation and hardship to take care of our boys, it is wrong that the country at large should so misjudge them. The best specialists of the country have placed themselves at the disposal of the Army Medical Department, and ninety-nine out of a hundred men in the drafted army

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are receiving better care than they could afford, under the best circumstances, to receive at home.

"Nursing is on the same high plane. Again we find volunteers, highly skilled and carefully trained women, who have taken the small pay and the discomforts of army life that they may serve where they are most needed.

"Wards are large and airy. Beds are comfortable. I have found exquisite cleanliness everywhere. Moreover, I have found cheerfulness. Food is good and plentiful. I have examined storerooms and kitchens, and watched the diets being served under the direction of a woman dietitian.

"I do not like the orderly system. There should be more trained nurses. At present the wards where there are no serious cases are managed by a ward-master, an enlisted man. And with the best intention in the world, he is not always efficient. The lack of nurses is a serious one, and could be remedied probably by an appeal to nurses to volunteer. But here again is the serious question of the ill at home, the same which faces the medical profession and the civilian hospitals.

"One hospital I know well. It is typical of other cantonment hospitals, it is under the same Army Medical Department direction as the others, and it is only right to assume that conditions there are representative. The same rules govern all these hospitals. The same sums are spent

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on them. The same system is followed. The food is the same, the supplies, the medical staff, the nurses.

"And I have never seen a better war hospital than the one at Camp Sherman. I will go further, and say that in its operating rooms, its X-ray department, its eye and ear department, its nose and throat department, its dental department, in short, in its facilities for caring for every emergency and every weakness it will bear comparison with any civilian hospital.

"And what is true of the base hospital at Camp Sherman is true of the others.

"I have watched the development of the war hospital system from the beginning, when I saw it first on paper in the office of the Surgeon General up to two weeks ago. I watched because it was a vital matter to me. I had a husband and a son in the service. I am like the other women of this country. I would be content with nothing less than the best. And I feel that we are on the way to the best.

"It has not come yet, although at the present moment, I would willingly trust any member of my family, in such emergency, in any one of our base hospitals. We need more supplies, we need more nurses and enlarged quarters for them. Sixty or even eighty nurses, divided into shifts of eight hours each, is totally insufficient for a thousand men. We even need more

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physicians and surgeons. Although the staffs are very large, the medical department in each hospital is working to its maximum.

"But what we need, as a nation, is something more than this. We need knowledge and reassurance. There is no need in this country for discontented resignation. I would suggest that a committee of representative and unprejudiced citizens from the nearest city visit each of these base hospitals and thoroughly inspect it. And that they publish in their local papers the exact results of their investigations. Let them go alone, to talk with the patients, the nurses, the doctors, the ward masters. And let them tell exactly what they find.

"The women of the country must know the facts. They have the right to know them. It is not fair to let them believe, as many of them now do, that the great and humane American people is not caring for the men who are to fight to save them. We are preparing against the inevitable losses of war. It is not fair to let any of us believe that there is useless death, and we are wasting lives we would die to save.

"And it is not true.

"Faithfully, yours,

"(Signed) MARY ROBERTS RINEHART."

There is no suggestion of remedy in that letter which does not have my instant approval. In addition to all the things which Mrs. Rinehart

suggests—and few are novel—are a number which I have already described to you as being done. Let me point out to the committee that, from the very beginning of this war the heads of the medical profession, the very masters of that profession, have been in constant contact with the Surgeon General. He has formed around him a staff the like of which probably does not exist on the face of the earth, for building hospitals, devising an organization, and supervising its perfection. One must consider that the average doctor, whose attention has been devoted to the treatment of individual cases, under home conditions, under the necessities of this situation has been thrown into a great organization where he is compelled to deal with hospital conditions and groups of men and sanitation, all on a large scale. While it may be, and is, deeply to be regretted that there should even be the necessity of improvement, yet the direction of this great medical staff of men, the zeal and loyalty and patriotism and efficiency of the medical profession are all at work rapidly bettering it and the improvement already wrought is very great.

We are not alone, Mr. Chairman. Our country is not alone in meeting with these difficulties. No army was ever assembled, nor can any be, which does not bring men together who theretofore have been exposed to communicable diseases, to which they are not immune. The most which can be done is to meet these conditions with every

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device and suggestion which science and care can devise. That, in my frank judgment, is the aim of the Surgeon General, and in the doing of it he has the unqualified support, and he knows it, of every officer in the War Department from the Secretary down.

Mr. Chairman, the second set of difficulties which you discussed with regard to the War Department were those affecting the supply of ordnance. In my previous hearing before the committee we went into that with great fullness. Clearly there are things about the supply of munitions of war about which men's minds may differ. Not merely the relative excellence of certain weapons, but the extent to which speed of procurement should be sacrificed for excellence of performance when procured, are questions of judgment, and their solution lies in the best instructed advice one can secure.

The first question of that kind which arose affected the selection of a rifle for the army, one involving the caliber of the rifle. The situation was, that the English were using a rifle with a rimmed cartridge of one caliber, and the French were using a rifle with a rimmed cartridge of another caliber. We, in America, had, admittedly, the best rifle so far developed in any military service, the Springfield, using a rimless cartridge, and we had in stock of those weapons something like 600,000—in stock and in the

hands of troops. This was early in the spring, although my recollection does not permit me to fix a definite date. The question had been investigated prior to that time, in order that there might be a summary view of the possibilities of rapid procurement of various types of rifles. Finally the choice of a weapon was decided in my office, as nearly as my recollection holds, at about 11 o'clock at night, and there were present in that conference, General Crozier, the Chief of Ordnance; General Scott, the Chief of Staff; General Bliss, the Assistant Chief of Staff; General Kuhn, the Chief of the Army War College; one or two other officers associated with the War College; the Ordnance Department experts on the subject of rifles; and General Pershing.

At that time General Pershing had been selected as the commander-in-chief of our forces ultimately to be dispatched to France, and as he was to command the Army and was to use the forces, it seemed an especially fortunate circumstance that he should be in Washington and able to participate in that conference.

We did not know then, as I shall illustrate a little later to the committee, whether our Army was to fight with the French or with the English. The mode of our military operations was not determined. The excellence of our weapon was so well known that just before the outbreak of this war, the British Government had decided to remodel its weapon and rearm its army, and



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they were on the point of manufacturing a modification of their own Enfield rifle, which would use a rimless cartridge, and thus obviate the possibility of jamming in the weapon, making it a better weapon. The sudden outbreak of the war compelled immediate equipment supplementing that which they had, and, fearing the confusion of using a new weapon in conjunction with their old weapon, and trying, *pari passu*, to rearm their army, they decided to adhere to their Enfield rifle.

That conference considered every aspect of this question, and it was finally decided to use our own Springfield rifle, and to procure a modification of the Enfield which would allow it to be chambered for American ammunition, in order to get the advantage of the large and organized manufacturing facilities already built up in this country for the production of the Enfield. That decision, made that night, had the unanimous concurrence of every person in the conference. The Master of Ordnance and Production, the Chief of the Army War College, with his technical advisers and experts, the Chief of Staff and his assistants, and the Commanding General of the expeditionary forces, whose army and its usefulness were at stake, were present.

When we undertook to remodel the Enfield rifle, it was discovered, that although there were three plants in this country manufacturing it, the bolt from one factory would not fit the rifle from another factory. Instantly the question arose of

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procuring interchangeability in the rifles produced.

At the outset it was thought that some eight or nine interchangeable parts would be enough. Later it seemed advisable to increase that number.

It was decided that a larger degree of interchangeability should be required, in order that when these rifles got to France and were used under battle conditions, if a man found himself with a defective weapon, and alongside him was another defective weapon, he could, if the emergency required it, take out of one defective weapon a perfect part and replace the defective part in his own weapon, and be equipped; in order in short to enable us to repair rapidly rifles rendered inefficient in service, so that a constant supply of these weapons will be ready at the front.

There was some delay in designing with the particularity necessary—tolerances of a thousandth of an inch in some instances—specifications for this remodeled Enfield, and that delay led to this result: That when our troops actually were assembled in the camps it was some time before they were fully armed with rifles. At the outset they had very few rifles. There was a distribution of Krags and obsolescent weapons, in order that they might drill with them, but it was some time before they were adequately supplied with the remodeled Enfield rifle.

That was foreseen. Gen. Leonard Wood came

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to my office—I have forgotten when, but it was early—and suggested to me the advisability of instantly calling out a larger army. I said, “But, General, we have not the clothes and we have not the weapons for them.” He said, “I know that, Mr. Secretary, but they need many things, before they need the rifles. They need to learn to live together, get used to camp conditions, they need the elemental discipline of camp life. They need to be taught to keep step, they need to know the subordinations of the Army, and it will take some time to give them that preliminary instruction.”

He pointed out to me that in England the so-called Kitchener army drilled for months, as he said, in their civilian clothes, with top hats and using a stick for arms. I said to him, “General, I agree with you that it is important to have our army equipped rapidly so that a prolonged period of training may be given to them; but we will call out first the Regular Army and then we will call out the National Guard, building it up to war strength. But the draft army will have an additional period of training in the field by reason of the fact that the army can not be shipped abroad in bulk, suddenly.” It was necessary to attempt to forecast the amount of time needed for training, and it was deemed wise to put the men in the camps in order that they might learn this matter of camp discipline, camp sanitation, the elements and essentials of the soldiers’ life a little in advance of their being fully tried with arms.

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I have here a statement of the rifles which were supplied to the camps at the outset. At the beginning there were Krag's in the cantonments. Senator Chamberlain in his speech to the Senate speaks of the weapons in the possession of the Department at that time as a motley collection—and I have no feeling about the phrase. The fact is that what we had was about 600,000 Springfield's and something over 100,000 Krag's. Also this is true: That in the greatest military establishment in the world, in the German army, when they call out raw recruits they give them an obsolete rifle as a practice rifle until the men learn to take care of it, before a service rifle is actually put in their hands. And so as a mere drilling and training weapon the Krag was not an improper weapon for them to have.

I do not undertake to say, gentlemen, that that question was decided infallibly. It might have been better to have bought English Enfield's enough to put one in the hands of every man. But it was decided thoughtfully, and it was decided considerately and conscientiously, and now the result is that every man in this country who is intended to carry a rifle in any of our military camps, has a rifle, and it is a better rifle than he would have had if we had adopted any one of the types existing at the time.

And this additional thing is true, that although we have transported soldiers to Europe much more rapidly than it was originally imagined we

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either would or could, every soldier who has gone to Europe has had a modern, excellent rifle, and he has had it long enough before going into action with it to learn how to use it, to practice with it either there or here. The same observation is true of every soldier who will go to Europe.

May I say now a word about machine guns?

The machine gun, of course, is a highly technical weapon. It is in the record of testimony before your committee that up to April of 1917 no Lewis gun had been made and tested to demonstrate its utility for American ammunition. The machine-gun problem is complicated by two factors, first the question of manufacture, and, second, a difference in theory as to the use of machine guns.

When this war broke out Great Britain was manufacturing the Vickers-Maxim, a heavy, water-cooled gun. She wanted a lighter type of gun and adopted as her lighter type the Lewis, manufacturing it on a very large scale in England.

The French, however, have not used the Lewis, or any corresponding weapon, as a land operating gun in any large numbers, the French theory being that it is better to have a very light gun shot from the hip or the shoulder, like the Chauchat, and a heavy type of gun shot from a tripod or carriage, like the Hotchkiss. So that something depended upon the troops with which we were to fight, the theory of combat which we were to

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adopt, as affecting the type of machine gun we should select.

There was in existence a board which had been appointed nearly a half year before—certainly some months before—to test all the machine guns there were, both those which were previously known through use and those which were not, in order that we might select the best types. The existence of that board did not delay for one second the selection or the procurement of additional machine guns. There was a test made by the Navy, I think, in April, as a result of which it was shown that the Lewis gun had been perfected to use American ammunition. There was an ordnance officer of the Army present at that test, and on the basis of that test immediate orders were given to the Savage Arms Co. to procure Lewis guns.

But we learned from Gen. Pershing in Europe that he does not desire Lewis guns for use on land. The regiments of marines which went from this country as a part of our military force were armed with Lewis guns. The guns have been retired from service, and those regiments have been rearmed with Chauchat rifles and Hotchkiss machine guns, just as are our other land forces.

Under the studies made by the experts of Gen. Pershing's staff and by their direction and advice to us, we are instructed to retain Lewis guns for use in aircraft, and are to press forward

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as rapidly as we can the manufacture of light and heavy Browning guns and Vickers-Maxim guns, for which a very large order was outstanding almost immediately after an appropriation by Congress a year ago to press those forward. So the situation in regard to machine guns at present is that the kind of weapons which Gen. Pershing and his staff want is the kind which was developed as the result of that board's inquiry, and the particular weapon which is said to have made so great a success with the British, and doubtless has made a great success with them, is one which is determined by our experts to be appropriate for air service and not desired for land-operating troops.

In the meantime, in order that the whole story may be told, it is in testimony before your committee that the French Government is able to supply us with Chauchat rifles, or light guns, and Hotchkiss guns, or heavy guns, for the divisions and troops which we can this year send abroad.

We ordered every Lewis gun we could get, we encouraged the manufacturers to enlarge their facilities. They still have not enlarged these as much as we have urged them to and contracted with them to that end. The supply of their guns is going through in larger numbers, however, and in the meantime the making of the necessary machine tools and jigs and dies for the production of light and heavy Brownings, and expediting the production of Vickers-Maxims, is

going forward. Our army abroad is provided with guns of the type adapted to the mode of warfare which its experts have elected to use, and our supply which is to supplement those guns is of the same type and of the kind desired by them.

Something has been said about our army in this country not having machine guns here to practice with. They have not had as many as we desired them to have; and yet I have had from camp commanders many letters, saying that they have not been held back by the absence of these weapons, because the rifle ranges were not ready, and for one reason or another they were not ready to go forward with this practice. Still, I am sure if they had had machine guns at the camps in larger quantities they would have been able to have some machine-gun practice in most of the camps before this.

I have had a table here, however, from the Acting Chief of Ordnance as to the machine guns which have actually been distributed in the camps in this country.

“The distribution of machine guns to the national draft camps has been as follows: Thirty Colt machine guns to each camp, 65 Lewis machine guns, 45 Chauchat automatic rifles. Distribution of machine guns to the National Army cantonments—50 Colt guns each, 65 Lewis machine guns, 45 Chauchat rifles to each camp.

“In addition to those mentioned, 10 Lewis



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guns have been issued to each regular cavalry regiment and 10 Chauchat rifles to each regular infantry regiment. Practically all of the above before the troops were ready for them; that is, about November 1."

Now, frankly, that is not an adequate supply; but it means some machine guns with which the machine gun companies may practice, learning the mechanism and mechanics of these arms. A larger supply will be forthcoming as the result of this quantity manufacturing which has been arranged for.

One other item deals with cannon. There is a statement on that subject before this committee, the statement made by Gen. Crozier. I mention it only because it contains some documents to which I want to refer.

General Crozier called your attention to the fact that beginning in 1906—and as I recall his statement about it, continuously from 1906 down—he has argued with committees—with the Fortifications Committee, the Military Affairs Committee—as to the length of time it takes to make heavy cannon.

I have no criticism to make of the response of the Congress to his representations. Congress did what it seemed wise at the time to do, and I have not the least doubt that if I had been a member of this committee or any committee of Congress I would have been just as likely as they

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were to take the view which they took of his recommendations. And yet continuously from 1906, the expert of the Army on that question was saying to the Secretary of War and to the Congress—and the Secretaries of War have changed both in person and in political affiliation, if that amounts to anything, several times since those original recommendations were made—General Crozier was saying to you and to us that it takes a long time to make artillery, that artillery is getting to be a weapon of increasing importance and was urging that there be ample provision for a more rapid completion of the program laid down in the Treat Board report.

General Crozier said in 1912, for instance, or somebody asked him this question:

“Does it take a long time to manufacture these field guns?

“A. Yes.

“Q. How long does it take?

“A. I do not think we could count on getting a battery delivered in less than a year from the time the order was given. I do not mean to say that it would take a year for each battery, but deliveries would not begin until a year after the order was given.

“Q. It is very important, then, to have them on hand?

“A. Yes, it is the slowest manufactured of any of the fighting material we need.”

I shall not recall further the statements of the

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general. They are supported by extracts from his testimony, his reports, and his letters to you and to me and to my predecessors, and they show that Gen. Crozier realized the slowness with which that sort of arm could be produced, and was constantly urging that ampler production be made of it. And yet, even Gen. Crozier could not have realized, and it did not lie in anybody's imagination to realize, the importance which artillery has assumed in this war. The wars prior to this have been evolutions of large forces over great areas. This has finally reduced itself to a bitterly contested line, with the massing of heavy guns on both sides. Even the French did not realize the new development in this war until after it had begun.

I have a letter before me from Mr. Tardieu, and perhaps I may be permitted to read it. It is written to Mr. Baruch and not to me. You will find here a few figures and further information concerning which I told you the other day. When war began France had at her disposal guns of artillery caliber about 89 millimeters, or 3.8 inches, and of these only 140 were quick-firing—that is, really adapted to modern warfare. Only 272 of these guns, with their personnel, were organized in regiments with supply available on the battlefield. The balance were located in fortresses and fixed emplacements. There was first a period during which the activity of the French war ministry in regard to heavy artillery was

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limited to the equipment and formation into batteries of heavy fortress artillery. It was an error, as modern warfare requires quick-firing heavy artillery, but as everybody was convinced of the short duration of the war, it was wrongly thought that it was not necessary to start with the manufacture of quick-firing, modern ordnance.

It has been seen since that this policy was wrong, although one ought not to forget that the most important industrial regions of France were occupied by the enemy. The orders placed for heavy, quick-firing ordnance have been scheduled. . . .

I shall not read that schedule, but I will read the dates when France gave orders for heavy, quick-firing artillery. France, the very center of the conflict, with her enemy at her throat, with the demonstration that the massing of heavy artillery was ultimately to determine the integrity of the Hindenburg line, gave orders for this type of artillery in September and December, 1914, and January, April, September, October, and December, 1915, and in January, 1916, and the largest order she gave on any of those dates, except one, was the latest order given in January, 1916, after the war had progressed substantially a year and a half.

To return to our own situation: We had a limited amount of artillery. The first step taken by the War Department was to attempt to speed up the artillery which we already had in process of

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manufacture. Here again, however, we came in conflict or came into contact with two theories of the use of artillery. The French use very large quantities of the 75-millimeter type. Their barrage is made by enormous quantities of 75-millimeter fire. The British had a field howitzer of larger caliber for that effect.

There are two distinct theories of the use of artillery on that front. The British prefer theirs, the French prefer theirs. We did not know then the relative merits of either. We had reports from our observers; we had experts' opinions, but now we had reached a place where we had to choose for ourselves—not to make a speculative and philosophical judgment as to the relative excellence of two military theories, but to select arms for an army that was going to fight for its life.

As I shall show in a moment, our attempt to do that was by sending over to France the ablest men we had, to determine the choice on the ground in consultation with men who were making and using these different types of weapons. In the meantime we allowed no hindrance to be proposed in attempting to speed up the production of our practical types of weapons.

But very early, perhaps in June, it was intimated to us that the French had so far accelerated their industry, in order to procure their initial supply, that the wastage of their use would not consume or occupy their industrial capacity, and

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that therefore it would be possible for them to supply such troops as we could get to France, within limits, with artillery of their manufacture and of the kind they were using. That question was very actively taken up at once.

Mr. Tardieu was here. He had for eight months, I think he said in his letter, been connected with munitions production in France; he knew the subject. General Crozier and he had many conferences about it, and on the 14th of July, or perhaps the 13th, an agreement was reached whereby the French Government undertook to supply us with quantities of the two principal pieces used, according to their theory of artillery use, namely, the 75-millimeter field guns and the 155-millimeter rapid-fire howitzers. Mr. Tardieu wrote at that time an announcement to the French people of what had been done. It appears in translation in Gen. Crozier's testimony.

Mr. Tardieu said:

"The negotiations taken up for the first time at the end of May between Monsieur André Tardieu, the French High Commissioner, the Chief of War Munitions of the High Commission, and Gen. Crozier, Chief of Ordnance, were characterized by two ideas. On the one hand the American Government wished to adopt the quickest solution in order to realize in the shortest time the complete armament of its forces; and on the other hand with great foresight they attached

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particular importance to realizing uniformity of munitions for the American and French Armies, called to fight on the same battlefields."

I shall not read the statement in full, but the paragraph which I shall now read I think is significant:

"The dominant note of the agreement lies in the proof it gives of the unshakable resolution of the American Government to achieve in the shortest time the maximum of military strength, and on the other hand it proves the active and intimate coöperation existing between the United States and France."

I leave out the next statement.

"The Secretary of War and Gen. Crozier, Chief of Ordnance of the American Government, have given proof in this case of the broadest spirit of comprehension and decision and have succeeded in a few weeks in securing for the American troops artillery of the first order."

Now, at the time this statement was made, it was the confident expectation of everybody in this country that the sending of troops in large numbers to France was a thing in the somewhat remote future. That was in July. We were already sending troops, but the sending of armies rapidly had not then been as fully worked out as it has become since.

There is in the testimony before this committee a telegram from Gen. Bliss. When the so-called House Mission went abroad, Gen. Bliss, Chief of

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Staff, representing the Army, and Admiral Benson, representing the Navy, were members. The task of the Mission was to find out by conference with the French and British and Italians, and their military experts, an answer to this question: How can America contribute most to the early winning of this war?

One of the answers to that question which they brought back, and telegraphed it before they came, was that the more rapid expedition of troops to Europe was an important factor, and they asked at once of their associates in conference, "What about further supplies of artillery and artillery ammunition?" And there, in the high military councils of those two nations, the matter was discussed, and it was agreed that both Great Britain and France had surplus ordnance, surplus ordnance ammunition, and surplus ordnance ammunition capacity; that Great Britain was in exactly the same state that France was. In order rapidly to equip her great army she had built up quantity production to such an extent that the wastage of war and the necessary augmentation of ordnance and ordnance ammunition would not exhaust her capacity, and therefore it was agreed by these international military experts that "the representatives of Great Britain and France"—this is a telegram from Gen. Bliss in December—"state that their production of artillery, field, medium and heavy, is now established on so large a scale that they are able to



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equip completely all American divisions as they arrive in France during the year 1918 with the best make of British and French guns and howitzers. With a view, therefore, to expediting and facilitating the equipment of the American armies in France and, second, to securing the maximum ultimate development of the munitions supply with the minimum strain upon available tonnage, the representatives of Great Britain and France propose that the field, medium, and heavy artillery be supplied during 1918 and as long after as may be found convenient from British and French gun factories."

I have seen, gentlemen, in the newspapers, statements that this taking of ammunition from France is putting her to a greater effort than she ought to undertake. I say to you that Gen. Joffre and his associates who were here; Mr. Tardieu, the French High Commissioner; the British representative, Gen. Bridges, and his associates, when they were here—I don't remember whether I spoke with Lord Northcliffe on this subject or not—but all of the persons who have come to this country with any knowledge on that subject; and Gen. Bliss, who went to Europe to study that subject on the ground; all bring me the confident and positive assurance that we are not only not taking from France and Great Britain things which they need, but that we are helping them to maintain their processes; that we are using facilities which they had organized in order to meet

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a need; and that we are making a properly co-ordinated and coöperative effort of a military character with our allies in this war by this procedure.

Yet we have not stopped there. Looking ahead, we have organized increased capacity in this country. The schedule of deliveries of artillery in this country which is before your committee and which I will be very glad to leave with the committee for examination, I should not like to have appear as a part of this public statement, but the committee may have it. I will read figures which it will not be unwise to read. They show the production of mobile artillery; they show our prospective procurements from France, and cover the year 1918. At the outset, in the month of January, out of the 75 mm. field pieces, we got 620 from France, and there have been turned out of our own factories only 84. In April our own production rises to 231, and the French has dwindled to 73. In succeeding months our numbers increase until in the month of December, 1918, our own production of that piece is forecasted to be 433 pieces.

I have here on this table the figures for 3-inch and aircraft guns, 4.7 guns of American manufacture, 155 mm. howitzers of United States manufacture, beginning with one in January, 1918—only nine months after the declaration of war. So far as this matter of the manufacture of the howitzers is concerned, involving so much

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time, by the testimony of all experts, it is rising steadily and rapidly to a maximum of 300 per month in December, 1918. This gun, also, shows original procurement from the French and diminishing supplies from them with rising production on our own part. The 8-inch, 9.2 and 9.5 howitzers of American manufacture and those procured in England are all shown on this chart.

I think, gentlemen, that it is fair to say—and if there be a possibility that I am wrong about it I should like to have it called to my attention, so that I may make no statement here which is not wholly borne out by the facts—that the American army in France now and to be there, large as it now is and larger as it is soon to be, is being provided with artillery of the types the men want for the uses to which they are to put them, as rapidly as they can use the artillery; and that our own stream of manufacture, to supplement our purchases abroad, is in process; and deliveries of some pieces are already begun, with, so far as industrial forecast can be relied upon, a rising and steadily increasing stream of American production.

In addition to what I have said, gentlemen, I will read what is already before you, a statement made by Mr. Tardieu in a letter to General Crozier. This was a letter of December 21.

“Even in such remarkable technical conditions as these, it takes time to realize such a program, to organize manufactures, and to have

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men to direct them. You will take less time than we did in France, where the output of field guns was not adequate to our needs before the end of 1916."

Now, if I may supplement that with one or two other figures from this same report of Gen. Crozier:

"The British Government in this country placed orders for ammunition and ordnance of all kinds totaling \$1,308,000,000, extending from about the middle of August, 1914, to the middle of July, 1917, or over a period of about three years. In comparison with this our own Ordnance Department has placed orders for 63,000,000 shell—I leave the odd figures out—"of a total value approximately of a billion dollars, between the middle of May and the middle of December, 1917, or over a period of seven months."

In comparison with the total munitions and ordnance purchases of the British Government in this country in the period of about three years of \$1,308,000,000, the Ordnance Department has placed contracts for a total of \$1,500,000,000 in seven months.

When this war broke out Great Britain was not prepared for it. She immediately began not only to organize her own industries, but to use every facility in a neutral country which she could lay her hands on to produce ordnance and ordnance ammunition.

She had, as you know, Mr. Stettinius as a rep-

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representative here, an American representing her, and he has won deservedly a great reputation because of the masterly way in which he rapidly evoked in this country agencies for the creation of ordnance and ordnance ammunition.

When Great Britain was placing these orders she was placing all she could place. What she wanted was ordnance and ordnance ammunition in large quantities and in a hurry. So it is fair to assume that in addition to her own capacity for manufacture, she was getting from us at the same time at least the major part of what we were deemed capable of producing.

I do not mean to say that that is a necessary conclusion, but everybody knows the urgency of Great Britain's need, and everybody who kept track of it at the time knows that the factories in this country which had made plows; and factories, which had made cash registers; and factories which had made adding machines; and factories devoted to all sorts of standard industrial uses of one sort and another; were gotten together under the spur of that impulse and devoted to the manufacture of ordnance and ordnance ammunition.

When we came into the field we came, it is true, into a field where some experience had been acquired by American manufacturers in the manufacture of ordnance and ordnance supplies, but at the same time we came into a field in part pre-empted and occupied by our allies; and our problem, so far as the Ordnance Department was con-

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cerned, was not merely to commandeer right and left the facilities in this country for the manufacture of ordnance and let the British and the French take care of themselves. They were on the fighting line, and our necessity was to dovetail our program into theirs in such a way as not to weaken their strength while we were building up our own to come to their assistance; so that our industrial problem, while obviously aided by the experience which our manufacturers have gained in the manufacture of ordnance and ordnance supplies, was complicated by the fact that so very much of the very best talent in the country was already devoted to their program and for uses which could not be diverted or suspended.

I will now take up a comment which appeared in your address, Mr. Chairman, referring to the supply of clothing under the Quartermaster General's department. It is perfectly true, and I thought I agreed with you about it when I was before you before, that the supply of clothing was inadequate. If I did not then agree to that fact it was only because it was so obvious that an explicit statement of agreement did not arise out of the form in which the questions and answers were made.

I said to you, I feel quite sure at that time, that our initial rush needs were substantially provided for and that reserves would rapidly accumulate, and I supplied to the committee all I could

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get—tabulated statements, with the exact number of garments short in every camp. When you asked me about Camp Sherman and I telegraphed out there and got a message which was reassuring in character, and the next day got a correction which showed not so good a condition, I sent the second message to you before it was cold from the telegraph wire.

I think you thought, Senator, that I was to blame for that. I wanted the Senator and the committee to have all the information I could get and I sent it without reservation, as I shall do in the future in response to any request that the committee makes.

I have already said to you that at the outset we had the problem as to whether we should wait until we had an adequate supply of clothing, or whether we should not.

In large part, I think the responsibility for that decision rests with me personally. The best information I could get then, and the best information I have now is that it takes somewhere between nine and twelve months to teach men who have not had previous experience, to live in camps, to learn the discipline and life of soldiers, so that they can be safely sent into the kind of warfare now waged.

I did not then know, nor do I now know, nor can I know, how rapidly it may be necessary for us to send men to France. I know how rapidly we have sent them. I know how many are there.

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I know what our present plan is in sending them; but I do not know but that to-morrow—this has not happened—I do not know but that to-morrow it might turn out that it would be wise to double the rate at which we are sending troops. There are now in the United States 16 National Guard camps, 16 National Army camps, filled with men who are ready to go if it is necessary. I have sacrificed something for that. I have not willingly sacrificed the health of anybody. I have not intended to sacrifice the comfort of anybody; but I have intended, if it was humanly possible, to be ready when the call came; and if I were to have delayed the calling out of these troops until the last button was on the last coat, and the call had come in November, or December or January, "Send them and send them fast," and they were still at home waiting for tailors, I would have felt a crushing load of guilt and responsibility which, at least in comparison with what I do feel about having called them out, would have been incomparably greater.

And yet I was not callous about it. I asked those agencies with which we were dealing in this matter how fast we could expect these supplies. They gave me the forecast as to the future. They relied upon their estimate of production and I relied upon it. Men who were called upon to take contracts for the production of cloth and the making of garments, not unnaturally perhaps, overestimated their capacity for production. Here



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and there were some little labor difficulties—not many—the response of labor to this situation has been superb in the United States. Here and there were difficulties of transportation and delays in getting supplies from one place to another; accumulating congestions upon the railroads, delaying manufacture and shipment from one place to another; unprecedented weather conditions in the United States, a winter the like of which none of us has seen since we were children.

The result was that in many of these camps there were shortages of coats, there were shortages of overcoats, and perhaps in a minor degree of some other things, and at the very outset a shortage of blankets, which was quickly supplied by going into the civilian market and buying comforters here and blankets there of a non-uniform type.

The reports I have now are, and the reports for some time have been, that the quantity of woolen underwear in the camps is adequate, that the supply of heavy cotton khaki is adequate. For some weeks now we have had an adequate supply of overcoats. The supply of coats is approaching adequacy, almost without exception—I say “almost,” because I have not had time to read all the reports—but from every camp which I have communicated with in the last few days the report comes to me that where there are any shortages of coats, and that seems to be the principal item, there is no such shortage as interferes

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either with the safety or comfort of the men; that adequate stocks of heavy woolen underwear and overcoats have protected the men against actual suffering by reason of the temporary deficiency in coats, but even that temporary deficiency is, for the most part, supplied.

Suppose I had taken the other counsel. There were two extreme alternatives: Either we could go into this war as nations used to go into wars, summon the countryside and assemble them into camps and work out their problems afterwards, which was one suggestion at the time; or we could wait until the last element of preparation had been made before summoning the men.

The unwisdom, I think, of either of those courses is obvious. What we tried to do—and the responsibility for it I think I must personally accept, because I was conscious of the grounds on which it lay—what we tried to do, was to summon the men out as rapidly as they could be taken care of, with the best knowledge we could get of the capacity of the industry of this country. It is not unknown to any member of this committee that when the draft army came to be assembled we delayed the calling out of its units sometimes a couple of weeks, sometimes more than that, in order that at each camp no men would be received who could not be taken care of. And the last element of the first 687,000 men selected by draft, the last element of those men intended originally to have come out in November

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or December, will not in fact report to the camps until the 15th of February in order that production and distribution may catch up and be adequate for their entertainment and protection when they come.

The fact is that all of the uniform cloth of the Army of the United States is made of virgin wool. There is no shoddy in any of it. There has been introduced into the cloth used for overcoats and for blankets an admixture of reworked wool, but in the uniform cloth there is no shoddy, there is no reworked wool; it is all virgin wool. When we went into this war the standard of army quality for uniforms was that it should contain 75 per cent wool and 25 per cent cotton. That had been our standard for a long time, but the specification was changed and the army uniform cloth, every yard of it, bought for this war, is virgin wool of the same weight it has always been, with a large increase in its strength in order to give it greater wearing qualities, while the use of reworked wool, or scraps, so-called shoddy, is limited to overcoats and blankets.

On that subject I want to read, if I may, a statement made by the greatest wool expert in America on that subject. My attention was called to it only this morning. It is from the issue of *Commerce and Finance* of January 23, 1918, and is written by Mr. William M. Wood, president of the American Woolen Company. Senator Weeks knows that I am not stating it too

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strongly when I say that he is a man of very high authority in the wool world. Mr. Wood says this:

"The recommendation of the Manufacturers' Committee to the Council of National Defense looking to the utilization of reworked wool is, in my opinion, worthy of consideration and not to be disparaged, as it has been in some quarters. Reworked wool can be introduced into fabrics which are used for overcoats and blankets so as to improve rather than impair their usefulness.

"It gives a better fitting property to the cloth, makes a warmer, closer, tighter fabric, provided a judicious proportion is used."

The Manufacturers' Committee, composed of patriotic and practical men, gave the Government its best judgment, based on the knowledge and experience acquired through years of effort in practical manufacturing, in recommending the judicious use of reworked wool.

I am willing to venture the statement that in the construction of from 90 to 95 per cent of all the overcoatings made in the world, including some of the finest fabrics, there is used a measurable quantity of reworked wool, or shoddy; so that the prejudice which appears to exist against the use of this kind of raw material is unfounded and unjust under modern conditions of manufacture.

As confirming this, I may mention that all the heavier military cloth in this country for export

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to our Allies under specifications given by their respective governments, contains a large percentage of reworked wool.

In this statement I am correcting, too, a mistaken belief which I shared with you. I had supposed that, on the recommendation of this committee of the American Woolen Manufacturers' Committee, a uniform cloth which had originally been virgin wool was reduced to, first, 65 and 35, and then 50-50, proportions of virgin wool and reworked wool.

Some question has been raised as to whether a heavier weight of cloth ought to have been supplied in view of the fact that foreign armies use a heavier weight of cloth. I can add nothing to the testimony in the record on that subject. That testimony, as I understand it, is this, that we have retained the cloth specified for our Army for a long time, so far as weight is concerned; that by the injection of one hundred per cent of virgin wool we have strengthened it and increased its warmth and wearing capacity, but whether or not a heavier cloth ought to be used is yet to be determined. General Pershing was requested to have his experts in Europe investigate that point and report to us on or before the first of February whether he recommended any change in the uniform cloth. That report has not yet been made by General Pershing and his staff, nor has any suggestion ever come from General Pershing or his staff voluntarily that there should be any

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heavier cloth used in the making of our uniforms.

I want to make but one further observation on this general subject of the quartermaster and supply department. I think it is not unfair for me to say that in the matter of provision of food no army ever assembled anywhere was fed as regularly, as well, as nutritiously, as appetizingly as this army. I think you gentlemen of the committee, and surely the men in the War Department, will agree that while there have been complaints about other things, the testimony of this army so far as I know is unanimous that its food has been of the highest quality; that there has been no suggestion of defective quality or insufficiency in the quantity; that its preparation has been of the highest character, and generally, the very great problem of food supply for this vast and hastily organized group of men has been met with most extraordinary success.

There is some question regarding the selection of cantonment sites, as to the healthfulness of the sites selected, and it has been suggested that the Surgeon General was not consulted with regard to the selection of sites.

The War College Division of the General Staff made a study of the mode of training of the Army. The date of that is May 4, and the questions they considered at that time were, first:

"Shall the Army be assembled in regimental camps or brigade camps or division camps?"

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They finally determined that it should be in division camps. They then drew up a memorandum covering several pages, as to the mode of selecting and organizing these camps. The paper I have before me is the original, signed by Gen. Joseph E. Kuhn, then president of the Army War College. This report recommended, first, that the department commanders should be charged with the duty of making such selections for the troops to be raised or trained within their respective departments; and, second, that they should appoint boards of officers to investigate and report upon the available camp sites.

Third, the number of such boards in each department should be left to the discretion of the several department commanders. Each board should be composed of two experienced officers of the line, one of whom should, when practicable, be the division commander concerned, or his representative; one of the Quartermaster's Department; one officer of the Medical Corps, and a district engineer. The requisite number of district engineers selected for their knowledge of local conditions should be placed under the orders of each department commander for detail on these boards.

The fourth paragraph gives a catalogue of the considerations which should guide the department commander and the boards appointed by him in the selection of these sites. I will read only two or three pertinent ones. They should be of suffi-

cient size to accommodate a command without crowding and have an adequate water supply, both for the men and animals to be encamped thereon. They should be immune from floods and inundations. The surroundings should be healthful. There were other desirable features recommended, absence of insect pests as disease carriers, infrequent interruptions to training by inclement weather—in all a long and carefully prepared schedule.

These guides were sent to each department commander. The principal places where these camps were to be selected were the Department of the Southeast, the Central Department, and the Southern Department. There had been just transferred, shortly before that, to the Department of the Southeast, the senior major general of the army, Gen. Wood, himself a medical officer originally, a man who had originated the training-camp idea and put it into practice at Plattsburg until it was a demonstrated success, a man who, perhaps, more than any other man in the Army by common consent would have been recognized as the best equipped man to select camp sites and inaugurate a system of training camps.

In the Central Department there was Gen. Barry, if I remember correctly, next in order—perhaps Gen. Franklin Bell was his senior—among the ranking major generals in the Army, a man with experience not only in this country but in our insular possessions, a lifelong soldier, a



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man accustomed to the encampment of soldiers and the environment which ought to surround them.

In the Southern Department, I forget who was in command. It was of less importance because it had the experience of the Border, and camp sites had practically been selected, so far as that department was concerned.

These men were directed to select for recommendation the department camp sites. I am not referring to anything that is not perfectly known to everybody who lives in Washington, but from the day that it was known that camp sites would be selected, Washington was filled to overflowing with representative bodies of citizens desiring that consideration should be given to this site or to that site, pressing the advantages of particular locations on us as to their accessibility by railroad or otherwise, the character of their climate, the character of their soil. I think I am stating what is known to every one in this room when I say that the universal and unvarying answer was that those camp sites were regarded as of so grave significance, and their proper selection was of so much importance, that the Department was relying on a board which could actually visit and compare on the ground the relative conditions, and I am stating what the record shows when I say that the camp sites actually selected were in every instance recommended by the department commander, his action being based on a board's

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action, the board containing in every instance, so far as my knowledge goes, the senior medical officer of his department. Only in one instance was the question raised as to whether or not a camp site, tentatively selected, was in itself a healthful place. When that question was raised I asked the Surgeon General of the Army to select the most eminent and competent sanitarian in his department and send him to make a personal inspection of the site. He came back and reported that the site was a sanitary and healthful one, and it was not until that report had been made that the site was finally decided upon.

The records of the department in addition showed that upon the selection of these sites the Surgeon General's Office was notified of their selection. I am not raising any issue with the Surgeon General. I share the high opinion of his eminent talents and of his great past service and capacity for future service which this committee entertains, and yet I want to have it perfectly understood that in the selection of these sites his representative was a member of every board, and if any question ever arose with regard to the propriety of a site in process of selection that question was investigated under his direction by my order until there was satisfaction as to the propriety of the selection.

And now with regard to the building of cantonments and the air space. The plans for the barracks and hospitals and buildings of these

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camps were referred to the Surgeon General and by him approved. I do not remember what the allotments of floor space they made were but they were approved, and the buildings were in the process of construction when there came a meeting, I think, of the American Medical Association, and at that meeting a committee was appointed to consider the sanitary conditions and character of barrack buildings for soldiers. That committee came to Washington and conferred with the Surgeon General, as was entirely helpful and loyal and proper for it to do. It insisted upon a larger allowance, a larger square foot of floor space and cubical contents for each soldier. In deference to their advice, the Surgeon General requested that a larger allowance be made. At the time that request was made, however, many barrack buildings had been constructed, the whole system of plans had been made with his previous approval, and the work was going on. I therefore asked Gen. Gorgas to call on me with that committee, and I saw them in my office and discussed the question with them. I do not remember all of the persons who were present but I remember some of them. There was Gen. Gorgas, Dr. Mayo, Dr. Welch of the Johns Hopkins Hospital—I do not recall others, but there must have been perhaps half a dozen or eight of them, of great distinction in the medical profession, including Dr. Franklin Martin, of

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Chicago, who was chairman of the medical section of the Council of National Defense.

We raised the question of how much floor space the men ought to have, and they suggested that 50 feet was the proper allowance. Then it was explained to them that the barracks were in process of construction, and they were asked whether they felt that the matter was so vital that it was wise to stop putting up the buildings we were then erecting and start over again on reformed plans, and they said, No; they did not think so. They thought the thing for us to do was to take the minimum which they suggested as an ideal toward which we should build, and that we should ask Congress to permit us to spend more money putting additions to these barrack buildings, and ultimately get up to this allowance; but they did not recommend that we stop building the barracks in order to make the enlargements which they suggested.

That is more or less unimportant, except as it leads up to another subject. I said then, "Gentlemen, we have now discussed cantonments, permanent barracks, more or less permanent wooden barracks. Now let us talk about the camps, because a large part of these soldiers are going to be in canvas tents."

Somebody said, and it was evidently accepted as the general opinion, that that subject need give us no trouble. They said, "Tents are automatically ventilated; there will be no trouble from them.

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We wish—we believe it would have been wiser or safer—that the plans provided for having all the men in tents instead of having them in camps, because the tent is a smaller unit, which brings fewer men together in one place. It is automatically ventilated and we think you need not look forward to any of the problems arising from congestion in the tent camps.” I recalled that to Gen. Gorgas’s attention the other day and he remembered it and said that that was still his opinion.

Now the fact is that the more serious health difficulties have broken out in the camps that were in tents and the health conditions in the cantonments, where the gravest concern was felt, have been better than those where it was felt that we had perfect assurance.

I cite this not merely to show that expert opinion may not arrive at the correct solution of a difficult problem, but so that you may have the environment of that problem. Shortly after that conference it turned out that we would have to reorganize all of our divisions, making a larger company by the consolidation of other companies, and making a larger regiment. So it became possible in the various camps to make readjustments in the assignments to individual buildings and from the beginning, so far as the cantonments are concerned, there has not been less than the minimum desired by this committee and Gen.

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Gorgas, of assignable floor space and cubical contents.

For instance, the approved capacity of 500 cubic feet as a basis applied to the 16 cantonments produces these results: At Camp Devens, Ayer, Mass., on the basis of 500 cubic feet per man, there is room for 34,476 men. The greatest number ever there was 34,800, about 300 too many. In every other one of the 16 camps the capacity of the 500 cubic feet basis is greater than the maximum number who have ever been there. At Camp Upton, 39,111 capacity, maximum number 29,000 (I read only the first figures); Camp Dix, capacity 39,800, maximum number, 20,800; Camp Meade, capacity 38,500, maximum number 32,000; and so on, clear through the entire list, with the solitary exception of Camp Devens, where the capacity on the basis of 500 cubic feet per man was exceeded, and that only by something over 300 men at one particular time.

Regarding the number of men to be put in a tent the records of the War Department show that on the 15th of October the War College issued recommendations as to the manner of handling supplies in camps and cantonments, in which the following occurs:

“Heavy tentage for the National Guard, unless otherwise ordered, and for State organizations which are to be mobilized at State mobilization camps, will be shipped direct to training camps to be there apportioned out according to the needs of

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all the organizations by division or camp commanders on the basis of one large pyramidal tent to 12 men until the total supply of tentage available is increased, when distribution will be made at the rate of one tent to 9 men."

That recommendation, our records show, had the concurrence of the Surgeon General. That is from the War College minutes. Later, when the Surgeon General was making his inspection of the various camps, the number of men per tent was reduced from 9 to 5, as indicated in the action taken on December 1, in the case of Camp Sevier. Similar action was taken on the recommendation of the Surgeon General at the other camps visited by him.

What actually happened, gentlemen, was that we gathered in from the country young men who had not been brought before into contact with community living. They were young men from the sparsely settled parts of the country. They were attacked by measles, of which one of the ordinary consequences apparently in adults is pneumonia. Now I am not a physician; I would simply be repeating what other people say to me if I undertook to detail any opinions on the subject of pneumonia or measles, and I do not want to minimize the fact that in all human likelihood the prevalence of pneumonia in some places and of bronchial colds which lead to pneumonia, perhaps even the spread of measles, were caused by too many men being in a tent at one time, and

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facilitated by the shortage of clothes of the kind that I have previously described. And yet Gen. Gorgas told me, as I have no doubt he told your committee, that the worst epidemic of pneumonia he ever had to deal with was at the Panama Canal, where there was not any question of shortage of clothes or change of climate.

But I do extract from this record—this is, I think, evidenced by it—that our original expectation was that the men in the tents would be safe; that practically the only thing we had to consider there was the convenience of the men in getting about in their tents; and as soon as it was discovered that the boys by tying up tight the flaps of the tents and excluding the outside air were circumventing that outside ventilation, which had been counted upon so surely to protect them from the evil effects of congested conditions, just as soon as that was discovered by the Surgeon General, instantly it was suggested that the rate of occupation of these tents should be much lower, additional tentage came in as rapidly as it could be sent in by express, and those conditions were improved.

There was a shortage of blankets. The mills of the country could not produce them rapidly enough, and in some places—Camp Devens, for instance—a very large number of quilts was bought in the near-by stores and cities to supplement the supply of blankets until a full supply was possible; and it may well be if the boys had



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had blankets enough to cover themselves completely they would not have made the tents so nearly airtight. The point I want to make, if I may make it with propriety, is this: That the place where we least expected trouble, is the place where it came, not the place where I expected it nor where it was expected by the greatest and most competent medical experts of America, coming all the way from New York or wherever else their meeting was, to confer with the Surgeon General.

The Surgeon General at the outset asked about hospital facilities at the National Guard camps, and it was then thought that since the men would be in those camps a shorter time than the men in the cantonments, and as the cantonments would be used by succeeding groups of men to be trained, there was not so much need for making permanent hospital facilities at the National Guard camps as at the cantonments.

That view, however, was changed, the Surgeon General's recommendation for hospitals at the National Guard camps was approved and the same kind and size of hospital, the same character of facility, was then directed to be put up at the National Guard camps, and is either erected or is being erected at all of them. Gen. Gorgas said to me that he himself approved the idea of erecting these National Guard hospitals without permanent installation of flowing water, without permanent sewerage facilities, because at the outset it was believed that they were to be more tem-

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porary, but when it was discovered that they were to be more permanent, then he recommended that it be altered to a permanent installation of plumbing and water supply, and this change was then ordered.

There were scattered through all of these camps the regimental hospitals which under normal circumstances would be regarded as adequate to take care of minor illnesses of the men, places to which they could retire with a cold or a slight injury, or something of that kind. This provision of base hospitals was for the more severe cases. Of course the fact is that we were overtaken by epidemic conditions before the base hospitals were ready in the National Guard camps, and it was necessary to evacuate some of those hospitals and take the patients to other places. When the Surgeon General made his investigation and discovered that situation, just as soon as adverse health conditions arose at Camp Wheeler and in those other southern camps, his recommendation for the transfer of patients was instantly approved and carried into effect, and every recommendation he made was complied with.

It was at that time, after his return from this inspection, that Gen. Gorgas suggested to me in conversation the wisdom of having a detention hospital where new men coming to the camp could be placed for observation for the normal period of incubation of the common contagious diseases, so that there would not be in the future the chance

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of newly drafted men or newly raised levies bringing in from the outside contagious diseases and spreading them through an assembled force.

I have been dealing with what has seemed to me to be the details of delay. I hope I have not seemed to deny their existence. I have tried to add to your information by showing you exactly what they are so far as I can learn them. I do not want to add any color of prophecy as to when they will be completely removed. I think you know, as a matter of fact, from the experts at the heads of these departments, just what the outlook is with regard to each particular thing, and so I turn aside to the plan of the war.

I have understood that Senator Chamberlain felt that there was not a plan for this war. I do not know how far the members of the committee feel that; I do not know how far the country feels that; but I want, if I can, to show to you that there is a plan; that it is the only plan under the circumstances.

It will be remembered that this war broke out in August, 1914. We went into it in April, 1917, so that for two and one-half years, or more than two and one-half years, the war had been going on. It was not as though war had broken out between the United States and some country, each of them prior to that time having been at peace with the other and with everybody else, so that an immediate plan could be made in the United

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States for conducting war against its adversary. We were coming into a war which had been going on for two and one-half years, in which the greatest military experts, all the inventive genius, all the industrial capacity of those greatest countries in the world had for two and one-half years been endeavoring to solve the problem of what kind of war it was to be and where it was to be waged.

It was not for us to decide where our theater of war should be. The theater of war was France. It was not for us to decide our line of communications. Our line of communications was across 3,000 miles of ocean, one end of it infested with submarines. It was not for us to decide whether we would have the maneuvering of large bodies of troops in the open. There lay the antagonists on opposite sides of no-man's land in the trenches at a death grapple with one another. Our antagonist was on the other side of that line, and our problem was and is to get over there and get him.

It was not the problem of doing it our way and letting everybody else take care of himself. In the first place, we were going to fight in France, not on our own soil, and not on our adversary's soil, and therefore at the very beginning it was obvious that the thing we had to do was not to map out an ideal plan of campaign, not to have the War College, with its speculative studies of Napoleon and everybody else, map out the best

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way theoretically to get at some other country, but it was the problem of studying the then existing situation and bringing the financial, the industrial, and the military strength of the United States into coöperation with that of Great Britain and France in the most immediate and effective way.

That problem could not be decided here. I fancy in this audience there are men who have been in the trenches. The altogether unprecedented character of this war is the thing which every returning visitor tells us can not be described in words, can not be put down in reports; it is a thing so different from anything else that ever went on in the world, so vast in its desolation, so extraordinary in its uniqueness, that it must be seen and studied on the ground in order to be comprehended at all.

It can readily be seen that we might have perfected an army over here, carried it across the ocean and found it wholly unadapted to its task; it might well have been that the army that we sent over was just the one thing that our Allies did not need, and that some other thing which we might have supplied would have been the thing essential to their success.

So that from the very beginning it was not a question of abstract speculation here, but a question of study there to find out where our shoulder could be put to the wheel.

Our Allies realized that. And so Great Britain

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sent over to us Mr. Balfour and Gen. Bridges and a staff of experts. They came over here and you saw Mr. Balfour in the Houses of Congress and at the White House and in public meetings at one place and another, but the group of experts whom they brought over with them you did not see much of; for they distributed themselves through the War Department, and their ordnance experts sat down with Gen. Crozier, their supply experts with Gen. Sharpe and his assistants, their strategists sat down with the Army War College, and all over this city there were these confidential groups exchanging information; telling how the thing was over there; what we could do, what they advised us to do; what experience they had had in developing this, that, and the other implement or supply; how certain plans which one might naturally have evolved out of the past experience of the world had been tried and found not to work at all.

They were exchanging information, giving us all that they thought was helpful. And then came Joffre, with his wonderful reputation and his great and charming personality, and he made a great figure here and we welcomed him. It was a tremendous inspiration to see the hero of the Marne; but with him came his unobserved staff of fifteen or twenty or twenty-five young men, the most brilliant men in the French Army—strategists, mechanical experts, experts in arms, experts in supplies, experts in industry and

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manufacture, and they told us not merely the formal and military problems, but they brought over with them men who were in the war from the beginning; in their reorganization of their industries; in their mobilization of their industrial plants; and we sat down with them in little groups until finally we collated and collected and extracted all the information which they could give us from their respective countries. And every country which has been brought in the war has sent us that sort of a staff of experts, and it has been necessary to compare notes, and upon that basis to form such an idea as might be formed of what we should do over there.

But that was not enough. They could describe to us and bring the specifications and drawings for a piece of artillery, but they could not tell us why the British theory of the use of artillery was preferred by the British to that of the French. They could not picture to us a barrage of heavy howitzers, as compared to a barrage of 75 mm. guns. They could not picture to us the association of aircraft, balloons and mobile aircraft with artillery uses. They could tell us about it, but even while they told us, the story grew old. The one thing they told us from the very beginning to the end was that this war, of all others, was not a static thing; that our adversary was a versatile and agile adversary; that every day he revamped and changed his weapons of attack and his methods of defense; that the

stories they were telling us were true when they left England and France, but an entirely different thing was probably taking place there now; and they told us of large supplies of weapons of one kind and another which they had developed in France and England and which, even before they got them manufactured in sufficient quantity to take them from the industrial plants to the front, were superseded by new ideas and had to be thrown into the scrap heap.

They said to us, "This is a moving picture; it is something that nobody can paint, and give you an idea of. It is not a static thing."

Therefore, it became necessary for us to have eyes there in constant and immediate communication with us, and we sent over to France Gen. Pershing, and we sent with him not merely a division of troops—to that I shall refer in a moment—but we sent with him, perhaps I can say safely, the major part of the trained, expert personnel of the Army. You know the size of the official corps of the Regular Army in this country when the war broke out. It was a pitiful handful of trained men, and yet it was necessary to divide them up and send over to France officers of the highest quality so that they could be at the front and observe in the workshops and in the factories and in the war offices, and in the armies, where consultations would take place immediately back of the front—so that they could see the thing with their own eyes, and send us back



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by cable every day the details of the changing character of this war.

Gen. Pershing's staff of experts and officers over there runs into the thousands, and they are busy every minute. Every day that the sun rises I get cablegrams from Gen. Pershing from ten to sixteen and twenty pages long, filled with measurements and formulas and changes of a millimeter in size, great long specifications of changes in details of things which were agreed upon last week and changed this week, and need to be changed again next week, so that what we are doing at this end is attempting by using the eyes of the army there, to keep up to what they want us to do.

Already you will find in your further examination into some of the bureau work of the Department, and the work of some of the divisions, that schedules which were agreed upon, weapons which were selected, and which we had started to manufacture, have been so far discarded that people have forgotten the names of them, almost, and new things have been substituted in their place, and those forgotten and still others put in their places.

So that if one gets the idea that this is the sort of war we used to have, or if he gets the idea that this is a static thing, it is an entirely erroneous idea. When you remember that we had to divide this little handful of officers that we had and send so large a part of them to France, and when you think of those who remained at home,

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you will realize, I am sure, that those who remained here had and still have a double duty, for either aspect of which they are insufficient in numbers; they had to go forward with manufactures, work out industry and industrial relations; they had to see about supplies of raw materials and manufacture finished products, and make from day to day alterations and changes that had to be made; and they had to be ingenious with suggestions, to see whether they could devise on this side something which had not been thought of over there. They had to be hospitable to suggestions which came from the other side; they had to confer with the foreign officers who were here and were constantly being changed, so that men fresh from the front could be here to advise with us; and in addition to that every one of them had to be a university professor, going out into the life of the community and selecting men who had mechanical experience and knowledge and training, though not on military lines, and adding to his original equipment the scientific training, that finishing touch which made him available for use as a military scientist.

As a consequence, this little group which stayed here has built the great special departments of the Army. The Ordnance Department, starting, I think, with 93 or 96 officers, has now, as I recall the figures, something like 3,000 officers. They have had to be trained; they have had to be specialized, and that has had to go on contempo-

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ranefully with this tremendous response to the changing conditions on the other side.

In the meantime, when we started into this war I think it was commonly thought throughout the country that our contribution at the outset might well be financial and industrial. The industries of this country, the appropriate industries, and many converted industries, were largely devoted to the manufacture of war materials for our Allies.

As I suggested this morning, when we went into that market we found it largely occupied, so that our problem was not going to a factory, let me say a shoe factory, and saying, "Make shoes for us," but it was going to a factory which never made shoes—because all the shoe factories were busy making shoes for people from whom we could not take them—and saying, "Learn how to make shoes in order that you may make them for us."

Now, of course, that is not true of shoes, but it is true of machine guns, it is true of other arms, it is true of ammunition, it is true of forging capacity, which was the greatest shortage. We could neither disturb the program of allied manufacture in this country, nor cut off the supplies of raw material to our Allies, nor could we disturb the industry of this country to such an extent that agricultural and commercial and industrial products upon which they depended for the suc-

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cess of their military operations would be interfered with.

At the outset the idea was wide-spread that we would be primarily of financial and industrial assistance to our Allies during the year 1918. Let me read from the *Metropolitan Magazine* for August a suggestion which will show what the current expectation of the country was. Its editor was protesting against what he believed to be the intention of the Government at that time.

"Since it is our war, we want to put everything into it so as to finish it in the shortest possible time, so that the world may be restored. To our mind the whole plan of the War Department has been flavored with a desire to hold off until the Allies finish the war for us."

You see, the editor was dealing with what he supposed to be the intention of the War Department at that time, that we were holding off, so far as actual military operations were concerned, and letting the Allies do the fighting.

What he says we should have done, and I ask your particular attention to it, is this:

"We should have strained every energy to have gotten from 50,000 to 100,000 men to France this year."

That is, the year 1917. I tell no secret, but it is perfectly well known to everybody in this group, that we have far exceeded what in August, 1917, was regarded as a program so ideal that the editor of this magazine refers to it as a thing

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which we ought to have strained every nerve in a vain but hopeless effort to accomplish.

And then the editor goes on:

“And by next year, 1918, we could have had 500,000 men to send over, or any part of 500,000 men which we could ship.”

Now, instead of having 50,000 or 100,000 men in France in 1917, we have many more men than that in France, and instead of having a half a million men whom we could ship to France if we could find any way to do it in 1918, we will have more than one-half million men in France early in 1918, and if the transportation facilities are available to us, and the prospect is not unpromising, we will have one and one-half million who in 1918 can be shipped to France.

Why did we decide to send some troops to France in 1917? It is no secret. When Marshal Joffre came to this country from France, when the British mission came, they told us of a situation which we had not up to that time fully appreciated. Just before that time there had been conducted in France an unsuccessful major offensive. The French people had suffered, oh, suffered in a way that not only our language is not adapted to describe, but our imagination can not conceive. The war is in their country. This wolf has not only been at their door, but he has been gnawing for two years and a half at their vitals, and when this unsuccessful offensive in France had gone on there was a spirit not of

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surrender, but of fate, about the French people. This mighty military engine which they had seen prepared to overcome them for forty years was at them, and their attitude was that no matter whether or not every Frenchman died in his tracks, as they were willing to do, it was an irresistible thing, and so they said to us, "Frankly, it will cheer us; it will cheer our people if you send over some of your troops."

We did send some troops.

At that time we had a choice. We could have sent over, as Great Britain did, our Regular Army, and with a very short preparation have put it into action and suffered exactly what Great Britain suffered with her contemptible little army, as it was called by her adversaries. Our army would have given as good an account of itself as the British Army did, but it would have been destroyed like the British Army, and there would have been no nucleus around which to build this new army that was to come over a little later. So it was deemed wiser to send over a regular division, but not to send over our whole Regular Army at that time.

Then what happened was that that regular division went over and the people of France kissed the hems of their garments as they marched up the streets of Paris. The old veterans, wounded in this war, legless or armless, stumping along on crutches, perhaps, went up the streets of Paris with their arms around the necks of Ameri-

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can soldiers. Not a single man in that division was unaccompanied by a veteran. America had gone to France, and the French people rose with a sense of gratitude and hopefulness that had never been in them before.

Of course they welcomed the British, but their need was not so great when the British went. Of course they welcomed the British, but there were ties between them and us which had not existed between them and the British, and so when our troops went, there was an instant and spontaneous rise in the morale of the French, and an equally instant and spontaneous insistence that these soldiers from America should continue to come in an unbroken stream.

And so we made the election. We decided not to send the Regular Army as a whole, but to send regular divisions and National Guard divisions, selected according to the state of their preparation, and keep back here some part of our trained force in order that it might inoculate with its spirit and its discipline these raw levies which we are training. One after another these divisions have gone until in France there is a fighting army, an army trained in the essentials and in the beginnings of military discipline and practice, and trained, seasoned fighters in this kind of war are now on the actual battlefields.

Early in this war, when Joffre and Balfour were here, they said to us, "It may take you some time to get over to us a great fighting army, but

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you are a great industrial country. Our man power is fully engaged in our industries and in our military enterprises, so send over artisans, special engineering regiments, and troops of a technical character." Although it was not contemplated at the outset, and only a phrase in the emergency military legislation shows that the thing was thought of as a possibility, yet in a very short time we had organized engineering regiments of railroad men and sent them over there and were rebuilding, behind the lines of the British and French, railroads which were being carried forward with their advance, reconstructing their broken engines and cars and tracks. Those regiments were of such quality that at the Cambrai assault, carried on by Gen. Byng, when the Germans made their counter attack, our engineer regiments threw down their picks and spades and carried rifles into the battle and distinguished themselves by gallant action in the battle itself.

Very early in this war Great Britain and France, through Balfour and Joffre, said to us, "Send us nurses and doctors." Why, we were scarcely in the war before American units, organized in advance and anticipation by the Red Cross, were taken over into the service of the United States through the Surgeon General's Office, and were on the battlefield. There are tens of thousands of men in England and in France now who bless the mission of mercy upon which the first Americans appeared on the West Front.



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Our surgeons have set up hospitals immediately behind the lines. They have been made military in every sense of the word. They have not been especially fortunate in escaping attack from the air, and our early losses in this war were losses of Red Cross nurses, doctors, orderlies, attendants in hospitals and ambulance drivers, who were sent over to assist our Allies in these necessary services, thus not only rendering assistance, but acquiring skill and knowledge of the circumstances and surroundings, so that when our own troops came in large numbers they could render like services to them.

But that was not enough. It was suggested that further groups of mechanics might be needed. Nay, we began to see that we were going to be over there in large force, and the question that then had to be answered was, How will we maintain an army in France? Special studies had to be made of that problem, and this is what they showed:

They showed that the railroads and the facilities of France had during this war been kept in an excellent condition, far better than any one supposed possible under war conditions. But they also showed that those railroads were used to the maximum in taking care of the needs of the French and the British themselves, and that when our army became a great army it would be necessary for us to build back of our own line an independent line of communication.

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In other words, France was a white sheet of paper so far as we were concerned, and on that we had not only to write an army, but we had to write the means of maintaining that army. From the first time when a careful and scientific study of the opportunities of France to help us was made, until this hour, we have been building in France facilities, instruments, agencies just as many as we have here in the United States and more. For instance, the French had naturally reserved the best ports in France for their own supply. The Channel ports had been reserved for the British. When we came in it was necessary for us to have independent ports of entry in order that there might not be confusion and admixture of our supplies going through these ports of disembarkation with those of other nations. We were given several ports. As you perhaps recall, the ports of France are tidal ports, with tidal basins, ports with deep water at high tides but with insufficient water for landing at the docks when the tide is out.

As a consequence, the construction of docks and wharves in the tidal basins of ports of that kind is very much more difficult than where you have a deep sea harbor and all you need to do is to erect a pile wharf. We have had to build docks; we have had to fabricate in this country and send over dock-handling machinery; we have had to send from this country even the piles to build the docks. We have had to have gantry cranes

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manufactured in this country and sent over to be erected on those docks ; we have had to erect over there warehouses at the ports of disembarkation in order that these vast accumulations of stores and supplies which go over can be properly housed and cared for until they can be distributed into the interior.

We have had to take over, and are in process of rebuilding and amplifying, a railroad 600 miles long in order to carry our products from our ports of disembarkation to our general bases of operation. And all of that, gentlemen, has had to be done in this country and the things shipped over there—nails, cross ties, spikes, fish plates, engines, cars, buildings. We have had to build ordnance depots and repair shops and great magazines of supply in the interior. All of that problem has been carried forward step by step, the plans for a single ordnance repair shop, which I saw some time ago, covering acres and acres of ground. These buildings are designed over here, the iron-work fabricated over here, disassembled, put in ships, and carried abroad to be reassembled over there.

We have had to build barracks over there for our soldiers, and in the meantime to billet them about in the French villages. Building barracks over there and building them here are very different things, gentlemen.

When we summoned the lumber industry of this country to produce the lumber to build our

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cantonments here it came in a great and steady stream from all over the country. But when we talk about building barracks in France it means this: It means organizing—as we have organized—regiments of foresters; and sending them over into the forests of France which they have assigned to us for our use; cutting down the trees; setting up sawmills; making the lumber of various sizes; transporting it to the places where it is to be used; and then finally putting it in place. In France we have had to go back to the planting of the corn in order that we might some time reap a harvest. Our operations began in the forests of France, not in the lumber yards as they did in this country.

That great staff under Gen. Pershing's direction, containing so many men from the American Army, is further enriched by our captains of industry and masters of technical performance. The railroad and dock buildings, for example, are under a former vice president and perhaps still a vice president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Gen. William Wallace Atterbury. Such are the men who are carrying forward these operations, which are quite as extensive as any carried on over here, and of far greater difficulty, because they involve ordering material by cable as to sizes and specifications, having it fabricated here, and sent across through these infested 3,000 miles of ocean, and then set up over there.

In addition to that, it has been necessary for

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us to build hospitals on the other side, for that is where the major need for hospitals may well be. It has been necessary for the Surgeon General's staff to meet a twofold demand; to select supplies and procure materials, to send over staffs of trained persons to supervise the construction of these hospitals and to man them and equip them.

All of that has gone on contemporaneously with the work which has been done in this country.

In order that another element may be added to the kaleidoscopic character which this war necessarily has, let me recall to your attention a thing which you already know. This war had a more or less set character until the Russian situation changed, as it has changed, in the last few months. When we had gotten more or less used to the situation created by the uncertainty as to Russia, there came the great Italian defeat, which in many ways called for even greater changes in our plans.

So that what might have been a perfectly acceptable plan as to major operations prior to the change in the Russian situation, or prior to the change in the Italian situation, had to be restudied instantly. For that reason, among others, there is now organized, as you know, in France, pursuant to the suggestion of Mr. Lloyd George, the Rapallo Conference, or Supreme War Council, and the United States is represented on

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that by the Chief of Staff of the American Army. The major international arrangements in regard to military questions are worked out there, while Gen. Pershing and his staff of experts are working out these other questions.

That is a faint picture of what has been going on over there, gentlemen. On this side much also has had to be done. I ask you to remember among the achievements on this side, the building of this army, not of 50,000 or 100,000 or 500,000, but of substantially a million and one-half men.

And now let me be frank with you, and let your judgment be frank with me about this. Has any army in history, ever, since the beginning of time, been so raised and cared for as this army has? Can the picture be duplicated? We have raised the Regular Army and the National Guard to war strength and supplemented them by the operation of a draft. There are Senators in this room who said to me with grief when we proposed that form of raising soldiers, "Mr. Secretary, it can't be done. It is too sudden to address to the American people that mode of selecting soldiers." And yet, has any great enterprise within the knowledge of any man in this room ever been carried out with more unfailing justice, with more intelligent explanation and commendation to the good sense of patriotism of the American people, and has any great and revolutionary change in our mode of practice ever been ac-

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cepted so splendidly as the operation of the selective service system?

We have got these young men in camp, they are surrounded from the day they left home until the day they come back to it, if in God's providence they can come back, with more agencies for their protection and comfort and health and happiness, physical, spiritual, and mental, than ever before surrounded any army that ever went out on a field.

They are classified by a system under which men who have mechanical instincts and training will be given mechanical opportunities in the army. The "round" man is not put into the "square" place. The Y. M. C. A., to which the American people have subscribed liberally; the Knights of Columbus, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Training Camp Activities Committee, the Training Camp Athletic Committee, the Red Cross, have all been brought in to live with the soldiers. By virtue of activities started in the War Department the communities which surround the camps have been won away from the notion which used to prevail of a certain alienation between a civilian and soldier group, and the soldier boys in these camps have been adopted into the homes and hearts of the people among whom they live. No such relation has ever existed between an army and a civilian population as exists with regard to ours.

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With your aid, by the establishment of zones, by the establishment of patrol systems of one kind and another, the Army has been able practically to stamp out intemperance and vice among the soldiers. By the training in the training camps of these young officers, men of experience and fine feeling, we have gotten into this great army the idea that it can be a strong and effective military body and still be free from things which have hitherto weakened and sapped the vitality and virility of armies.

I have gone from camp to camp among these cantonments, and my first question to the camp commander almost invariably has been, "What about your disciplinary problem?"

Old men in the Army, men whose lives have been spent in it from their boyhood, and who have been all over the continental United States and through its insular possessions wherever our armies have been, who know the life of the soldier and the camp and the post, all say with one accord and no exception, that they have never seen anything like this; that the disciplinary problems of the Army are reduced to a negligible quantity. As a result, instead of the melancholy and pathetic parade through the Secretary of War's office of court-martial after court-martial upon men who have yielded to temptation under these unfamiliar circumstances, which used to obtain, I have only an infrequent case now and then.

When Lord Northcliffe returned to England



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he was invited by Lloyd George, as I recall it, to accept a position in his cabinet. He wrote a letter which was printed in the papers, and in that he made this casual reference to the United States. He spoke of his visit here, and spoke of our war preparations in this fashion:

“War preparations are proceeding in the virile atmosphere of the United States and Canada with a fervor and enthusiasm little understood on this side of the Atlantic.”

He was then in England. I happen to have a copy of a confidential instruction issued by the German Government in June, 1917, to the German press as to what course they should take in dealing with American matters, and this says:

“While the news about American war preparation, such as the organizing and outfitting of an Army of 1,000,000 men strong to reinforce the French-English front, is looked upon in that form as bluff, the spreading of which may unfavorably affect the opinion of the German people, yet the fact must not be overlooked, on the other hand, that the United States with the support of its capacity for material and industrial management is arming itself for war with great energy and tenacity.”

Your investigations, gentlemen, have much still to cover; but, when it is all told, Mr. Chairman, it will be a story which I am sure your committee will be glad to report to the Senate of the United States as being a tremendous response to a tre-

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mendous responsibility. When you have completed this investigation, I know that the American people will feel, as I think they have a right to feel, that we are in this war to win it; that we are in it to hit and to hit hard; that we are in it to coördinate our strength with that of our associates; that the problem is not one of individual star playing but team play with these veterans under actual battle conditions; that more has been done, perhaps, than the country expected, more than the wisest in the country thought it was possible to do.

In so far as I am personally concerned, I know what is ahead of us. I know what the American feeling about this war is. Everybody is impatient for us to do as much as we can. There will be no division of counsel; there will be all the criticism there ought to be upon shortcomings and failures; there will be, so far as the War Department is concerned, a continuing effort at self-improvement and a hospitality toward every suggestion for improvement that can come from the outside. But the net result is going to be that a united and confident American people, believing in themselves and in their institutions, are going to demand, and that at no late day on European battle fields, in the face of veterans with whom they are proud to associate, a demonstration that, veterans though these men be, they can not excel us in achievement. And when the victory is won over there, the credit which will come to Amer-

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ican enterprise and to American determination and to American courage will be an honor to us, as the tenacity of purpose and splendid achievements of the British and French have already shed luster on the names of those great nations.

## WITH THE AMERICAN EXPEDITION- ARY FORCES IN FRANCE

TO THE ENGINEERS,  
MARCH 14, 1918.

**T**HESE days have been worth my trip across the Atlantic in the information and encouragement which they have given me. I have seen only the effort in two ports, only the receiving depots of the great war plant which we are constructing. But I have seen enough to convince me that we now have an organization which will meet the problem with its increasing volume of demand, of coupling up the ports of embarkation at home with the ports of debarkation in France.

I find that the written reports have given me an inadequate idea of the difficulties which the enemy said we could not overcome, and which we are overcoming. After her long and stout-hearted defense, France could spare us little material or labor for our purposes, except by ill-advised diversions from her own organization. She could only offer us land on which to raise our structures and the right of way for our communications.

I should like to pay a tribute to you men who

## EXPEDITIONARY FORCES IN FRANCE

began last summer and fall to bring into being the blueprints of a great conception, which is now advanced enough to yield conviction of success to any observer; and a tribute to our engineers and experts from civil life in all branches who serve with the officers of the regular engineers in command of an increasing army of workers, all doing their part.

You come from a pioneering people and you have brought to France a pioneering energy. You have turned marshes into docks, facing waterways which you will dredge; sent out a spur of railway track; and built warehouses and the necessary supplementary plants for a system which will dispatch along the lines of communication to the front food, clothes, guns, ammunition, and all the enormous amount of complicated war material which the resources of our country can supply, to be transported by ships which we are building.

We owe it to your devotion and efficiency that the troops in action shall not lack the means of striking blows. I only wish that every American could see this work as I saw it. I ceased to be an official while I thrilled as a citizen with pride and satisfaction over the ever-increasing force which we shall bring to the aid of the Allied armies in France.

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To THE OFFICERS OF THE GENERAL STAFF,  
MARCH 18, 1918.

It was with a view to following the route of our troops and material along the lines of communication to the front that I began my tour with the ports of debarkation. To-day I have been through the busy offices of the General Staff and the administrative departments at headquarters. I have met the men who from this nerve center direct the organization which they have created.

I appreciate how you would prefer to leave your desks for the front line, where you could see the direct result of your efforts against the enemy. But you at least are in France, and thereby are the envy of those who are held at their desks in the same kind of work at home. Many of you are former students at Fort Leavenworth and the War College. Action has taken the place of study. The problems which you have to solve are no longer those of theory in the movement of imaginary forces, but of fact, in control of the supply and equipment of large bodies of troops in the greatest military undertaking of our history.

The black band around the sleeve which is the emblem of the General Staff has become the symbol of great responsibility to the people at home and to the man in the trenches, responsibility for accomplishing the maximum of efficiency in di-

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recting the resources at your command with the minimum cost of life, energy and material. Your ambition to excel in your profession and your studious application in the time of peace, when we had a small army, have earned the gratitude of your country at a time when the most valuable asset we have is the well-trained soldier in the prime of his manhood who has kept his mind and body fit for this emergency.

General Pershing has had the vision, the authority, the high organizing ability and the broad conception to make the most of your talent and industry in the results which have been so reassuring to me as Secretary of War. Your modesty, your willingness to learn from the traditions and technical experience of the Allied armies, is in keeping with your soldierly realization that war is skill against skill, force against force, and that you are forming an army to fight against a most powerful, skillful foe, who allows nothing to divert him from the main essential.

Your plans have been commensurate with your tasks, your spirit has been in keeping with the inheritance which you have from Grant, Jackson, Lee and Sherman. While you have been building your structure you have had to act as instructors for our untrained forces, and signs are not wanting of your success in adapting our national character and zeal to the end of victory.

I have been at one of your artillery schools, where young reserve officers are preparing to

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support our troops with their gunfire. I have seen your staff school, where another group of reserve officers, including a former Secretary of War, whom I envy, is being trained to assist in your staff work when we shall number our corps in France as we now number our divisions.

Some of the pioneers in forming our organizations in France are now out with the troops, and officers with the troops are being brought in for staff work as a part of your system of all-around preparation. I might say that promotion awaits those who have proven themselves fit to lead in the stern test to come. However, I know you are not thinking of promotion, but only, in a spirit of soldierly service, how to give the best that is in you to the cause.

TO THE RAINBOW DIVISION,  
MARCH 20, 1918.

While it was in training at home I saw a good deal of the Rainbow Division. Then, one day, it was gone to France, where it disappeared behind that curtain of military secrecy which must be drawn unless we choose to sacrifice the lives of our men for the sake of publicity. The enemy's elaborate intelligence system seeks at any cost to learn the strength, the preparedness, and the character of our troops. If we were to announce the identity of each unit that comes to France, then we would fully inform him of the



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number and the nature of our forces. Published details about any division are most useful to expert military intelligence officers in determining the state of the division's training and the probable assignment of the division to any section. Our own intelligence service assures us that the complete knowledge of our army in France which some assume to exist does not exist. At least, we make our adversary work for his information and spare no pains to keep him as confused as possible.

But now it is safe to mention certain divisions which were first to arrive in France and have already been in the line. This includes the Rainbow Division, famous because it is representative of all parts of the United States. As a military unit, however, it is to be judged only by its efficiency against the enemy, regardless of its origin. At the same time, this division should find in its nation-wide character an inspiration to *esprit de corps* and to general excellence. It should be conscious of its mission as a symbol of national unity.

The men of Ohio I know as Ohioans, and I am proud that they have been worthy of Ohio. A citizen of another State represented in this division will find himself equally at home in some other group of this division, and the gauge of this State's pride will be the discipline of that group as soldiers, its conduct as men, its courage and skill in the trenches.

## FRONTIERS OF FREEDOM

You may learn more than war in France; you may learn lessons in patriotism from France, whose unity and courage have been a bulwark against that sinister force whose character you are learning in the trenches. The Frenchman is, first of all, a Frenchman, which stimulates rather than weakens his pride in Brittany if he is a Breton, or in Lorraine if he is a Lorrainer; and his loyalty and affection for his own town or village, and his home. In very truth, he fights for his family and his home when he fights for France and civilization against the principle of the ruthless conquest of peoples by other races and culture.

You, too, will fight best and serve best by being first of all Americans, with no diminution of your loyalty to your State and your community. Though you have come three or four or five thousand miles to the battleground of France, you are each fighting for your home, for your family, for all that you value as men, and for future generations in this conflict, whose influence no part of the world can resist and whose result is the concern of every human being in the world. With us at home the development of a new national unity seems a vague process compared to the concrete process you are undergoing. You are uniting East, West, North, and South in action. We aim to support you with all our resources to make sure that you do not fight in vain.

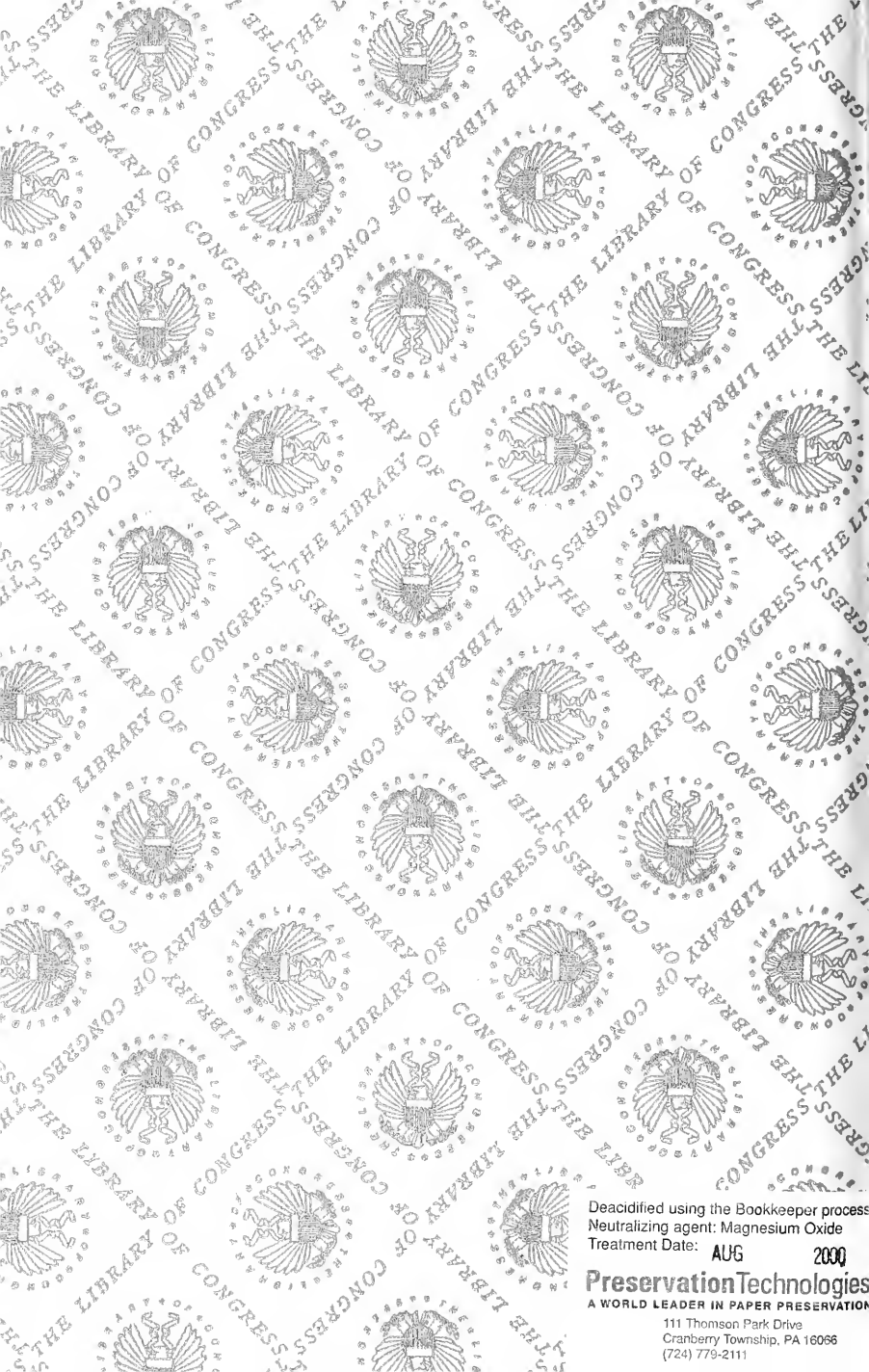
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I thought you marched well and drilled well when I last saw you, but what I have seen of you to-day gives me a new standard of comparison. The mark of the thorough system of our army in France is upon you. I feel you have all grown to greater manhood, and that the steel of your spirit now has the fighting edge. To your relatives scattered over the States I send the message that you are well led, and that you want for none of the supplies and for no attention which safeguards your health. Your own communities and the nation as a whole may be proud of your good conduct and clean living, which go with clean, hard fighting, and with the principles for which you fight.



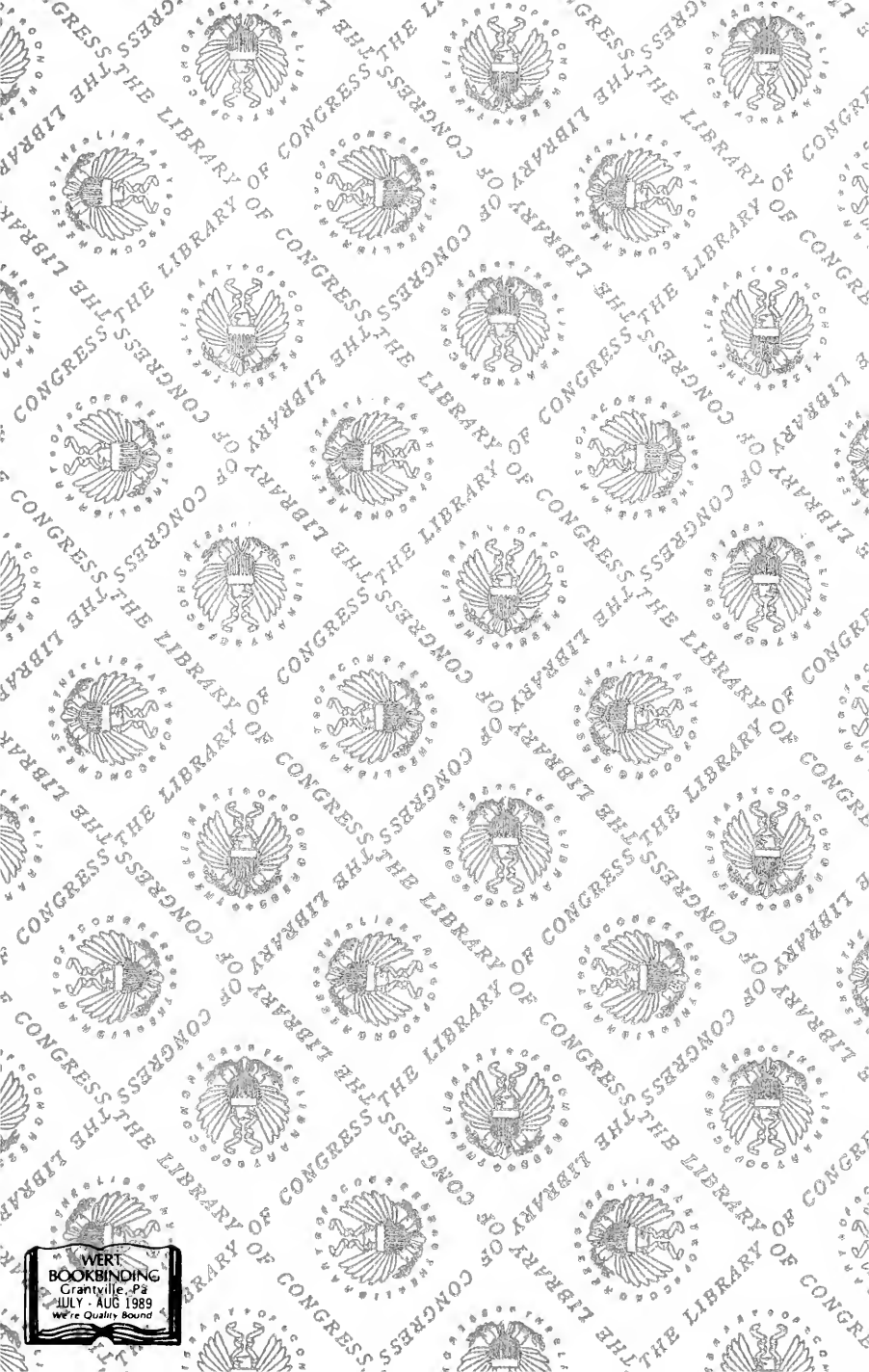




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Neutralizing agent: Magnesium Oxide  
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